

MILITARY ILLUSTRATED

□ PAST & PRESENT □

No. 1
June/July 1986
£1.95

Fosten:

British Orders of Dress, 1890

Dawson & Kutemeier:

First Special Service Force

Chappell:

**1916: Tommy
on the Somme**

Hofschröder:

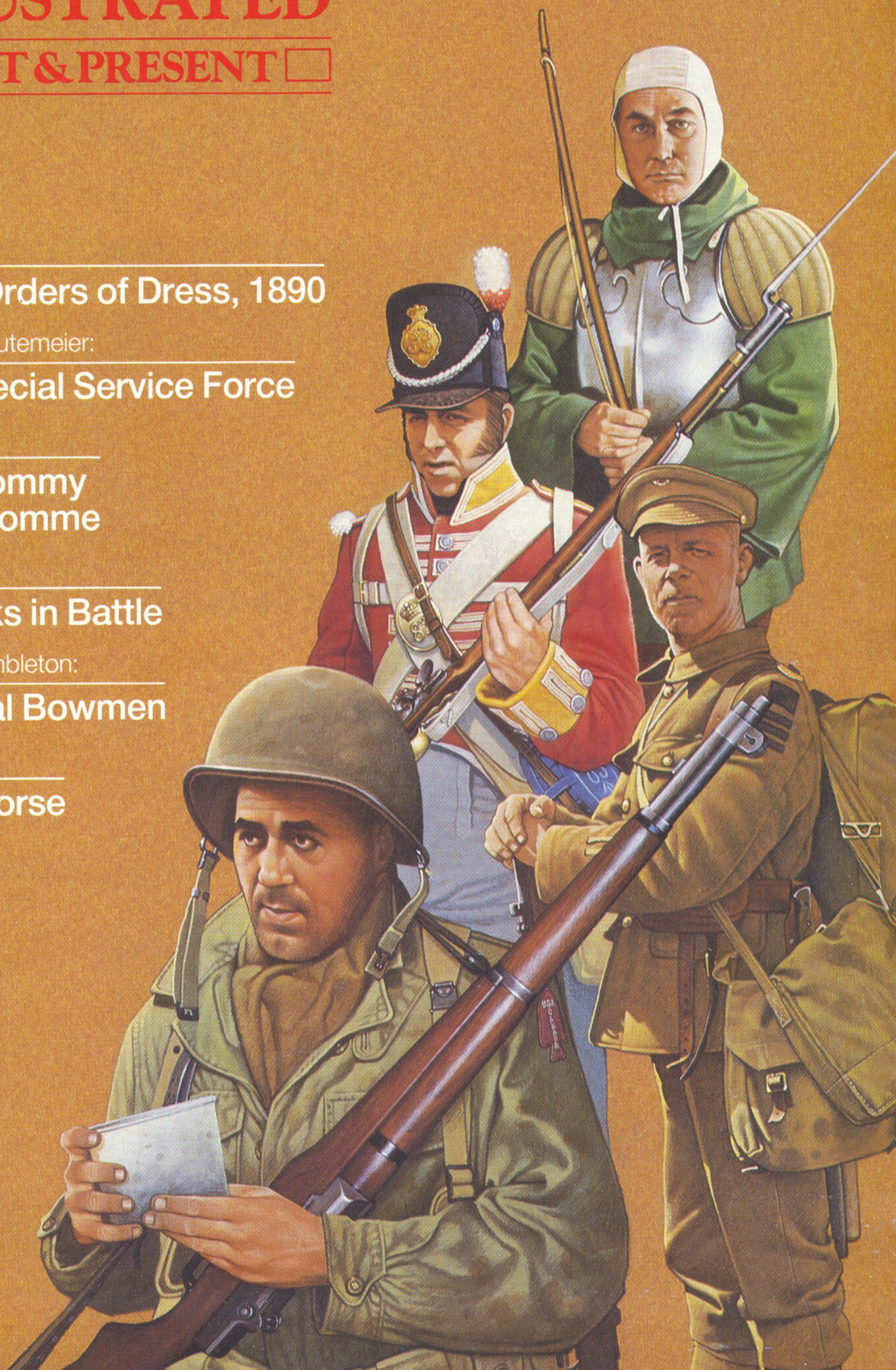
Flintlocks in Battle

Bartlett & Embleton:

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Crazy Horse





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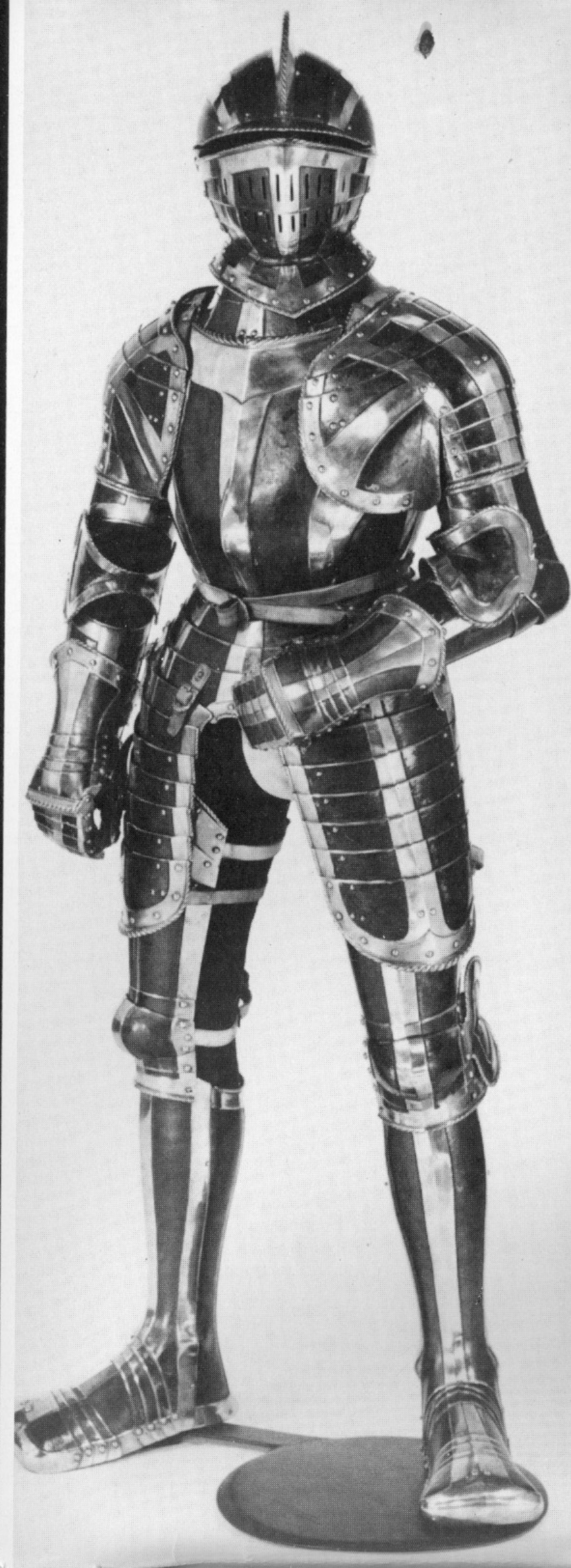
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No. 1

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JUNE/JULY 1986

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The English Archer c.1300-1500 (1)

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Flintlocks in Battle

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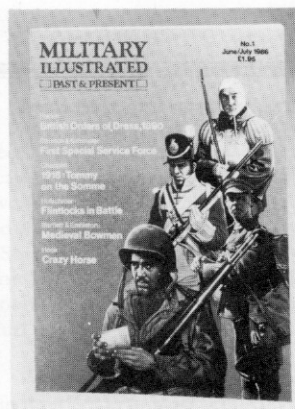
Orders of Dress, English Line Infantry, 1890s

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Gallery: Crazy Horse, c.1872-76

JASON and RICHARD HOOK



Our cover illustration

represents the wide range of periods covered in this first issue. It was painted for us by the gifted young illustrator **Kevin Lyles**, whose work, we hope, will appear frequently in this magazine.

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EDITORIAL



Martin Windrow was born in 1944, and educated at Wellington College, Berkshire. After early training on a London newspaper he worked on *Flying Review International*; and in 1965 became the first editor of the *Aircraft Profile* monograph series. A commissioning editor for Guinness Superlatives in the early 1970s,

he initiated the much-praised anthology *The Universal Soldier*. Since the mid-1970s he has been commissioning editor of Osprey Publishing's best-selling series *Men-at-Arms*, *Vanguard*, and, more recently, *Elite*. He has written more than 35 books and monographs, and many articles, on aviation, military, and related

subjects. Among his best-known publications are *Military Dress of the Peninsular War 1808-14* (with Gerry Embleton: Ian Allan Ltd., 1974); and *Uniforms of the French Foreign Legion 1831-1981* (Blandford Press, 1981; revised paperback edition, 1986).

Martin Windrow lives in a village in the Sussex Downs.

Welcome to the first issue of *MILITARY ILLUSTRATED Past and Present*. Thank you for buying it; we hope that it quickly becomes habit-forming.

Our aim in launching the magazine is self-evident: to fill the gap among English-language publications available to readers interested in the history of the soldier's dress, equipment, insignia, weapons, and related matters. Well served by books, the military history enthusiast has for years been starved of a journal catering for his interest. Your very encouraging response to our preliminary market research mailings confirms that what you want is a magazine offering detailed reference, rather along the lines of our respected French contemporaries such as *Uniformes* and *Militaria*. Therefore, while recognising that many of you are modellers, and fully intending to feature the work of leading modellers and manufacturers in occasional articles, we shall avoid any direct competition with the several fine modelling and wargaming 'technique' magazines already available.

One of the clearest patterns to emerge from your answers to our questionnaire was an almost unanimous preference for a magazine offering a balanced selection of articles on all the major periods of interest, from ancient and medieval through 'pike and shot', 18th century, Napoleonic, 19th century, colonial, and both World Wars, right up to the present day. While Napoleonic and Second World War subjects retain their traditional lead (more than 50% response for both), we were struck by the nearly exact balance between all other periods. Space obviously prevents our guaranteeing to include a major article on every period in each individual issue; but we intend to commission work to reflect this balance as closely as possible, and will seek your opinion on our efforts at regular intervals.

This magazine is primarily for the English-speaking reader, so it is natural that British, Empire and Commonwealth, and American subjects will predominate — but not, we assure you, to the exclusion of other nations. We enjoy the most constructive relationship with our respected French colleague François Vauvillier, and as the magazine develops we hope to make available in English some of the best material now being produced in France. Asian, African, and other neglected areas will also figure in our pages at intervals.

While the core of 'MI' will be major articles on what soldiers wore, carried and used — including descriptions of the use of various types of weapon, from a human and tactical rather than from a highly technical viewpoint — we intend to co-ordinate much of this material with information on particular units and campaigns. From

time to time we shall spread the net wider, and publish material on collecting; on military museums, and other types of exhibitions and displays; on military artists; on buildings and fortifications; and on any other aspect of the whole broad field of 'campaign life' which offers illustratable physical detail, for reference and inspiration.

As soon as is feasible we shall begin regular *book review* and *readers' letters* columns. Our policy will be to give space only to books which we think genuinely interesting and valuable to readers; and to those letters which genuinely advance the information given in articles.

We also hope you will take advantage of our forthcoming *classified advertisement* service; a coupon will be found on our bound-in subscription card, and we are accepting advertisements immediately. We shall start printing them as soon as we have received enough to make a column worthwhile. French magazines offer militaria collectors an astonishingly wide and varied marketplace for 'wants' and 'sales'; the only way for you to enjoy a comparable resource is to contribute to it, so we hope you will busy yourselves accordingly!

Articles will initially be commissioned, but we will welcome offers of unsolicited material. Please send a detailed synopsis of your suggested article — *not* the material itself — to our editorial address (see title page) with a stamped addressed envelope for reply. We are particularly interested in compiling a register of first-quality items of militaria in private collections for possible future photography in relation to major articles; all letters will be treated in the strictest confidence, as we are quite aware of the security implications.

A technical point: we share your irritation when an article has to be 'turned' to a later page half way through. This is an occasionally unavoidable result of the technical requirements of page collation when only certain pages of a magazine can carry colour. Please bear with us; we hope eventually to extend our colour content to the point where it becomes unnecessary.

This brings us to the sordid but unavoidable matter of sales. We are a new publication, for a specialist readership: in these early months, every subscription counts. If you think we deserve encouragement to continue and to improve, then please take out a subscription NOW . . . For us to pretend that we are already so well established that individuals don't matter would be to insult your intelligence. We are in your hands, gentlemen.

Long-winded pomposity is an occupational hazard of editorship. This was, we assure you, the longest speech you will ever hear from us.

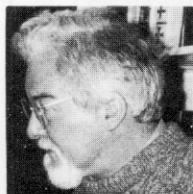
MI

Contributors to this issue



D.S.V. and Bryan K. Fosten

are among the best-known names in British military publishing and modelling circles. Don, born in 1924, served with the British Army 1942–47 in N. Africa, Sicily, Italy and Austria. Now retired, he pursues full time his lifelong hobby of researching British and European uniforms. The author of several books and many articles, he collaborates with his brother Bryan in producing the well-known series 'Cut of the Cloth' in Military Modelling magazine, and their 'Thin Red Line' series of uniform plates. Bryan, born in 1928, also turned full time to modelling and art after Army service and years as a printer. The founding editor of *Tradition* magazine, he is the author and illustrator of hundreds of articles and many books, and has enjoyed a long reputation as the modelling guru 'Stan Catchpol'.



Michael Chappell

enlisted in the Royal Hampshire in 1952, and spent the next 22 years soldiering with the British infantry in Malaya, Cyprus, Libya, S. Africa, Germany, Ulster and in home garrisons before retiring — as RSM of the 1st Gloucesters — in 1974. Over the past 12 years he has become well known as a prolific illustrator and, latterly, writer on military subjects.



Gerry Embleton

is widely respected as an illustrator, particularly of military and of children's books. Born in 1941, he published his first professional work — a comic strip — at the age of 14; and has since produced a bewildering volume and variety of work in many mediums. Since 1978 he has worked in Switzerland, mainly on medieval research. He now directs the art department of the Swiss Institute of Arms and Armour at Château de Grandson, and divides much of his time between museum design work and re-enactment groups such as '1476' and '1515'.



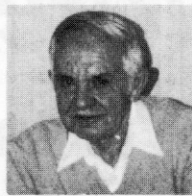
Clive Bartlett

was born in 1952; between 1978 and 1984 he served with 10th(V) Bn., The Parachute Regiment. A keen student of military history, he founded in 1983 'The White Company 1450–1500', a 'living history' society dedicated to practical research. He first took up the bow in 1975, and has been a practising archer ever since, always with traditional bows.



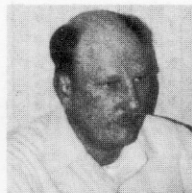
John R. Dawson

joined the First Special Service Force in August 1942; he was a staff sergeant when the force was broken up in 1944, having never missed a day of combat for any reason. Transferred to the 82nd Abn.Div., he ended his war meeting Soviet Cossacks on the Elbe. A graduate of the University of Illinois, he has been a farmer and an orthoptic technician, and has published articles on agriculture and history.



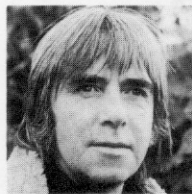
Don Kutemeier

grew up on farms in Illinois and Indiana. Enlisting in the US Army in 1968, he served in Vietnam 1969–70, reaching the rank of sergeant. He now holds a commission in the Army National Guard, and is active in militaria research and collecting.



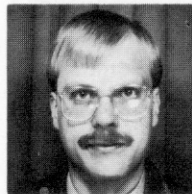
Richard Hook

was born in 1938. Trained at Reigate College of Art, he did his national service in 1st Bn., Queen's Royal Regiment where he rose to be 'regimental pigman'. The art editor of the much-praised educational magazine *Finding Out* during the early 1960s, he has worked as a freelance illustrator for the past 20 years. He has earned an international reputation, particularly for his historical work, which has been published as far from home as Japan and Sweden. He is married, with three children, all of them artistically talented in various disciplines. His second son, **Jason Hook**, born in 1966, is the author of two published books on North American Indian subjects; and is currently researching his second Osprey *Men-at-Arms* title, on the Apache people.



Peter Hofschröder

graduated in German and History from King's College, London. He has become well known in recent years for his activities in British wargaming, re-enactment and publishing circles. He contributes regularly to several specialist journals; and has to date written four titles in the Osprey *Men-at-Arms* series on Napoleonic Prussian subjects, to which he brings the advantage of a deep knowledge of German primary sources. He has recently launched a specialist military bookselling business.



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Peter Hofschröder is hoping to organise a week-long trip to the Napoleonic battlefields of Saxony, now in the German Democratic Republic, during October 1986 — the 180th anniversary of Jena. The trip will take place if he can assemble a party of 40 people. Included in the itinerary will be visits to the fields of Saalfeld, Jena and Auerstedt (1806), Gross-Goerschen and Bautzen, Dresden and Leipzig (1813). Parades by men in period uniforms are being organised by enthusiasts in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, in which visitors are welcome to participate. Museums of interest will also be visited. The price of this unique opportunity to see military sites now behind the Iron Curtain will be approximately £400, depending upon the rate of exchange and the numbers attending; this will include flights to and from Berlin, coach transport, guide, and four-star hotel accommodation. Anybody from overseas is also welcome to join the party, either in London or in Berlin. For further details please contact:
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The English Archer c. 1300–1500 (1)

CLIVE BARTLETT and
GERRY EMBLETON

The archer was the foundation and backbone of English armies from about 1290 to 1530: even an observer with as little reason to admire the English as Phillippe de Commines, who became chief minister to Louis XI of France, called the bowman 'the flower and hope of the armies, the most sovereign thing in the world when it comes to battles'. Yet during this whole span of time sadly little of interest was written down about this man. The first book on English archery, Roger Ascham's '*Toxophilus*', was not penned until 1545, the time of the bow's decline; and even that was written by a scholar rather than a soldier. Only recently have detailed investigation of contemporary records and illustrations, and reconstruction of the archer's costume and equipment, begun to clear some of the fog of myth and romanticism which has surrounded him. Given such a time-span, this article cannot hope to do more than outline the principles of recruiting, pay, organisation, tactics and dress; and the archers of Edward I, and of the Tudor decline, are omitted in favour of their 14th- and 15-century fellows.

It is worth noting first a few points to be borne in mind as background to all that follows. First, 'English' for the purposes of this article must be taken to include the Welsh, among whom the archery tradition was strong.

Secondly, generalisations about archers should not hide the fact that among bowmen, as among any class of soldiers, there were some who were regarded as especially skilful (— notably, and intriguingly, archers from Cheshire). When the skills of fine archers were recognised they generally became permanent retainers of a noble household. Henry VII's formation of a Yeoman Guard of archers was simply the continuation of an accepted policy: the Black Prince, Richard II and Edward IV all had identical guards, and the smaller households of nobles and

gentry would always contain a few archers. A distinction must be drawn between these 'household' archers, and the more numerous, and perhaps generally less well set-up levied archers.

Finally, the nature of the archer's service was largely determined by the nature of much of the Hundred Years' War. That the war would be fought on French soil was decided by the English naval victory of Sluys in 1340; but the English government lacked the financial and bureaucratic resources to wage a war of conquest and occupation. The most common operation was therefore the great raid for plunder and the spreading of destruction, known as the 'chevauchée'. Both Crécy and Poitiers were fought when the French caught up with marauding English raids-in-force.

RECRUITING

The standing army was unknown in medieval England. The only permanent forces on the king's payroll, apart from his personal household, were those of the garrison towns of England and, later, France. Consequently, 14th- and 15th-century campaigns saw the raising of temporary armies which were disbanded on completion of operations. The temporary nature of these forces should not be allowed to disguise the professionalism and discipline that was such a feature of English armies of the day. These armies were raised by two methods: 'Contracts of Indenture' and 'Commissions of Array'.

The Contracts of Indenture superseded, for the nobility, the old feudal obligatory ser-

vice. They were drawn up between the king and his commanders who, in turn, sub-contracted to lesser nobles, who, again, could sub-contract down to the gentry and their tenants. The contracts specified what contingents were to be raised, where they were to serve, for how long and at what rates of pay. (For example, in 1341 the Earl of Northampton contracted to supply seven bannerets, 84 knights, 199 men-at-arms, 250 archers, and 200 other soldiers.)

The Commission of Array was the descendant of the old Anglo-Saxon *fyrð*, and the forerunner of the militia muster of the Tudor and Stuart periods, whereby all men between the ages of 16 and 60 were eligible for military service: a form of conscription. The weapons and equipment to be provided by the individ-

ual were dictated by his wealth, as laid down in the Statute of Winchester of 1285, in force until 1558. Those with land or rents worth £2 to £5 a year served as archers. Counties were assessed as to their available manpower; commissioners (who might be members of the king's household, or retainers of the principal commanders) then toured the 'hundreds' and shires of their counties, picking from the men 'arrayed' at a designated muster. (The counties north of the River Trent were occasionally exempted if there was felt to be a danger of trouble from the Scots.) Prime consideration was given to the quality of the archers: commissioners were to ensure that they chose 'whole and hable men', and had to swear that they had tested every archer listed on their rolls.

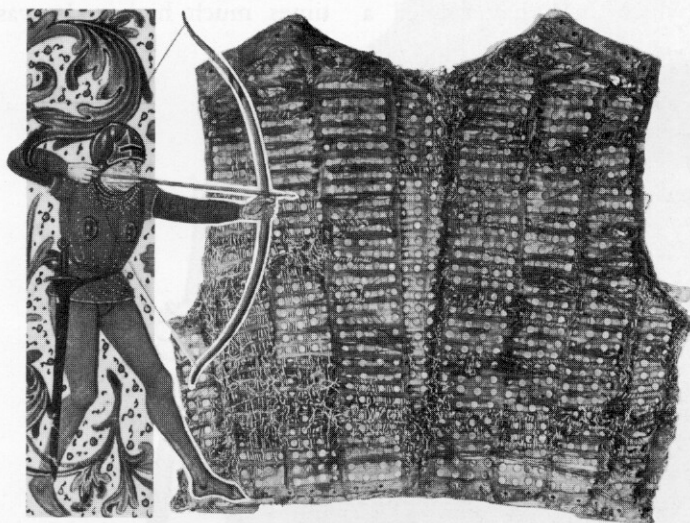
The true purpose of the Commissions of Array was to levy an army for the defence of the realm; those listed were therefore, strictly speaking, not obliged to serve outside the country. (There were abuses: in 1373, for instance, some of the indentured force of the Duke of Lancaster was provided by archers raised at an Array.) However, the Commissions also seem to have been used to raise volunteers during the French wars. To entice men to enlist, proclamations were issued throughout the land, listing the same terms as offered under the Contracts of Indenture; and other inducements included pardons for criminal offences (850 were granted in 1339–40), and shares in any plunder and ransom. In striking contrast, during the Wars of the Roses the increased pressure on the Array is indicated by the emphasis on compulsion: some Commissions contain such phrases as 'on payne of deathe', and 'as ye wol answer unto us at your perelles' — though these threats did not always produce the expected response.

In addition to these two methods, cities and towns were also obliged to provide



Above

Three helmets of the second half of the 15th century, all typical of the types worn by English archers, but by no means representing the entire range of shapes observed. These are a barbute, a cervelière (which seems to be the type which often had large metal rondels rivetted to the chin straps) and a visored sallet. The first requirement — obviously — was for the helmet to have no wide brim to interfere with the bowstring while shooting: so no English archer would have worn the otherwise popular 'kettle hat'. (Swiss Institute of Arms and Armour, Grandson — photos Daniel Boesch; and Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



Centre

15th-century northern Burgundian MS illustration of an archer — many English bowmen served in the armies of the Dukes of Burgundy. This man wears a visored sallet; and a brigandine, with two large plates over the breasts. These are often illustrated, but their material and means of attachment are unknown. The close-up shows the back half of a surviving brigandine of the late 15th or early 16th century; the 'nails', and the outlines of the plates under the facing material, are clearly shown here. Cheap types of brigandine used plain materials; the internal plates were sometimes of horn instead of metal, and were larger and fewer in number. The richest examples had velvet facings, silver- or gilt-headed nails, and smaller and more numerous metal plates — they could cost up to £20. All qualities were generally collarless and sleeveless, although some are shown with short sleeves. (Bibliothèque Nationale, and Musée de l'Armée, Paris)



Left

Detail from the 'Beauchamp Pageant', produced at the end of the 15th century. This beautifully executed work gives us the earliest and most accurate detail of soldiers of the period of the Wars of the Roses. Note the barbute helmets; body defences, which seem to be either cheap brigandines with fewer, larger plates, or perhaps 'plated jacks'; thigh-length mail shirts; and, especially, the careful delineation of the English style of shooting, with the characteristic long draw. (British Library)

men. In 1455, for instance, Coventry provided 100 archers for the king; and in 1482 York supplied 120 for the Scottish expedition of that year.

In 1347 Edward III raised an army, using all the above methods, to lay siege to Calais. It comprised 32,303 men, 20,076 of them archers, of whom 4,025 were mounted. This was the

largest single English medieval army ever raised, and to achieve this strength Edward had to extend the scope of the Statute of Winchester — an unpopular step that was never repeated.

These legal limitations, together with the limited manpower requirements of the 'chevauchées', and with the effects of the Black Death (which may have killed a

third of the English population in the years after 1348) combined to keep English armies small. After 1347 no other English army exceeded 10,000 to 12,000 men. The ratio of archers to all other troops in the Calais army was $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and this was the norm throughout the 14th century. In the 15th century the ratio rose to 3 or 4 to 1, and sometimes much higher. It was

around 5 to 1 in Henry V's army (of about 6,000) at Agincourt; and around 7 to 1 in Edward IV's army of 1475 (which totalled some 12,000, raised entirely by Indenture).

ORGANISATION and TACTICS

The 'internal' organisation of the armies of this period is still very hazy. England certainly lagged behind other

Left

On 14 September 1346 the Black Prince's clerk was ordered to buy green and white cloth to be made into coats and hoods for the archers of Flint; another entry in the register of 26 June 1355 records a further delivery of cloth of the same colours to archers of Flint and Cheshire, and this order was repeated in later years, always specifying that the green was to be worn on the right.

The archer on the left has wound the 'liripipe' of his hood round his neck, and wears a hardened leather helmet. Note also the typical 'bracer' on his left wrist. The archer on the right has a padded 'aketon' jacket typical of the period, over which he wears a short, white surcoat bearing the cross of St. George. This 'national' field sign was worn not only by Englishmen, but also by any others, e.g. Bretons or Gascons, serving in the English army. Unfortunately, no medieval English illustration shows archers in 'marching order', so the reconstruction of his small items of equipment is conjectural — though all are taken from contemporary pictures, especially the large arrow bag, often seen near English archers in battle scenes. Note also his double layer of hose, the upper set folded down for comfort. Both archers have been enlisted with their own bows; while not rare, these are not of the better known issue or 'livery' type: these will be described in a subsequent article.

Opposite

A mounted archer of c.1475. Now in the well-paid service of Sir John Howard, this seasoned campaigner bears that lord's livery badge — a white lion, with a blue crescent on the shoulder — stitched or glued to the brigandine which he wears with short mail sleeves. The fringed hood, common in illustrations of the Burgundian wars, suggests that he has served in the army of Charles the Bold, who held English archers in great respect: at one time he employed more than 1,000, who formed part of his household guard. One of his captains wrote in 1474: 'The English have been more watched and admired in our army and better esteemed than were our robes of Cloth of Gold and costly adornments . . .' Note the shooting glove, taken from a Flemish tapestry, and often mentioned in contemporary accounts.



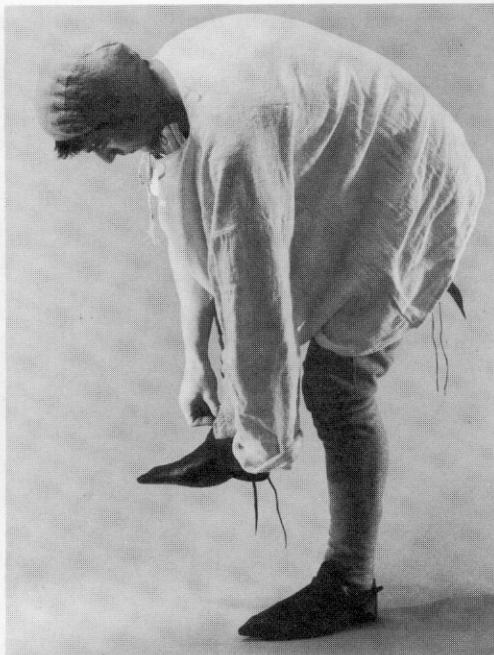
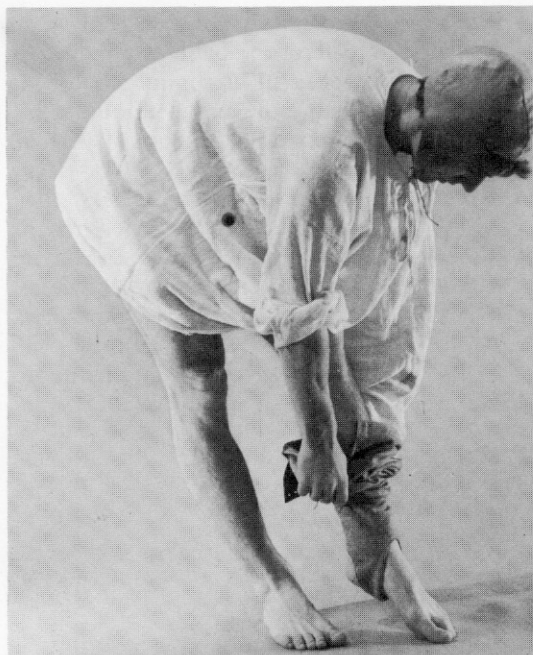
nations — notably France, Burgundy and Italy — in the creation of standing armies and the formation of tactical units. A consequent vagueness clings to some of the rank titles used. 'Sergeant' had a variety of meanings, while 'captain' was a common term applied to the commander, whether noble or commoner, of a body of men of any number. From the 15th century the captain sometimes had a number of 'petty-captains' to assist him.

It is known that the men were arranged in '20s', '100s' and '1,000s'. The '20' consisted of 19 men led by a 'vin-tenar', five of which units formed a '100' under a 'centenar'. These units were formed at the point of enlistment; from there the men marched to a further assembly point, either a regional headquarters or, during the French wars, the port of embarkation. Here they would be further amalgamated into '1,000s' (though this sometimes took place at the point of enlistment); and, eventually, into 'battles'.

It is not clear how the 'battle' was ordered. Inevitably, some retinues would have supplied greater or lesser ratios of archers to others, but they were never broken up and distributed among other captains. One must assume that the Constable and Marshals, whose job it was, contrived the deployment of the smaller units throughout the 'battles' in such a way as to ensure the required and even distribution of the different types of troops in each 'battle'. There would, no doubt, have been a tactical division within each 'battle' into weapons classes, in the same way that 18th-century light infantry and grenadiers were sometimes temporarily taken from their parent regiments to form single forces at the disposal of brigade or divisional commanders.

The English army from the 13th to the mid-16th century marched and fought in three 'battles': the Vanward, Mainward and Rearward. On the march the van and flanks





would be protected by a screen of mounted archers and men-at-arms. The army could fight using these 'battles' either simultaneously (i.e. in a linear formation) or successively (i.e. in a columnar formation).

The favourite English tactic was to find a good defensive position, anchored and protected on the flanks by natural features; and to deploy the 'battles' in line abreast, with the men-at-arms in the centre and the archers on, and forward of, the wings. Froissart tells us that this formation was called a 'herce', which has been taken to be an illusion to the agricultural harrow. There is disagreement over the form these herces took, i.e. whether the archers were placed on the wings of each 'battle' (as diagram 'A'), or on the wings of the army as a whole (as 'B').

The truth lies somewhere between the two: 'B' was used at Agincourt, but Froissart's description of Crécy lists men-at-arms and archers in each of the 'battles', implying 'A'. Things are further complicated by the use of the word 'shield' by other chroniclers to describe this

formation; and by references making clear that archers were intermingled with, and screened, the men-at-arms — so perhaps the formation was exactly like neither 'A' nor 'B'. (Intriguingly, another derivation of the word 'herce' is 'hedghehog'.)

Archers often strengthened their positions by improving the natural protection afforded by hedges, dykes, woods and marshes. They dug holes and ditches, and, as is widely known, planted stakes, most famously at Agincourt. (In that instance the stakes were rough-cut in the woods during the march; there are later references to more sophisticated stakes with iron heads, sockets, rings and staples.)

The idea of the formation was for the attacking French, mounted or on foot, to be channelled down the human valleys thus formed. With their cohesion and momentum destroyed by the effects of continuous arrow shot from front and flanks into these 'killing zones' (especially effective against horses), the surviving French would arrive piecemeal before the English lines, to be cut down by their fresher opponents. Good examples of all these points can be found in Froissart's account of Poitiers:

'Howbeit [the English] have ordered it wisely and have taken post along the

road, which is fortified strongly with hedges and thickets and they have beset this hedge on one side and on the other with their archers, so that one cannot enter nor ride along their road except by them . . . At the end of this hedge among vine and thorn bushes, where no man can go nor ride, are their men of arms all afoot and they have set in front of them their archers in manner of a herce whom it would not be easy to discomfit . . .

'That Sunday the Englishmen made great dikes and hedges about their archers to be the more stronger . . .

'As soon as the [French] men of arms entered, the archers began to shoot on both sides and did slay and hurt horses and knights so that the horses when they felt the sharp arrows they would in no wise go forward but drew back and flang and took on so fiercely that many of them fell on their masters so that for press they could not rise again, insomuch that the Marshals Battle could never come at the [Black] Prince . . .'

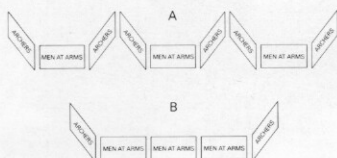
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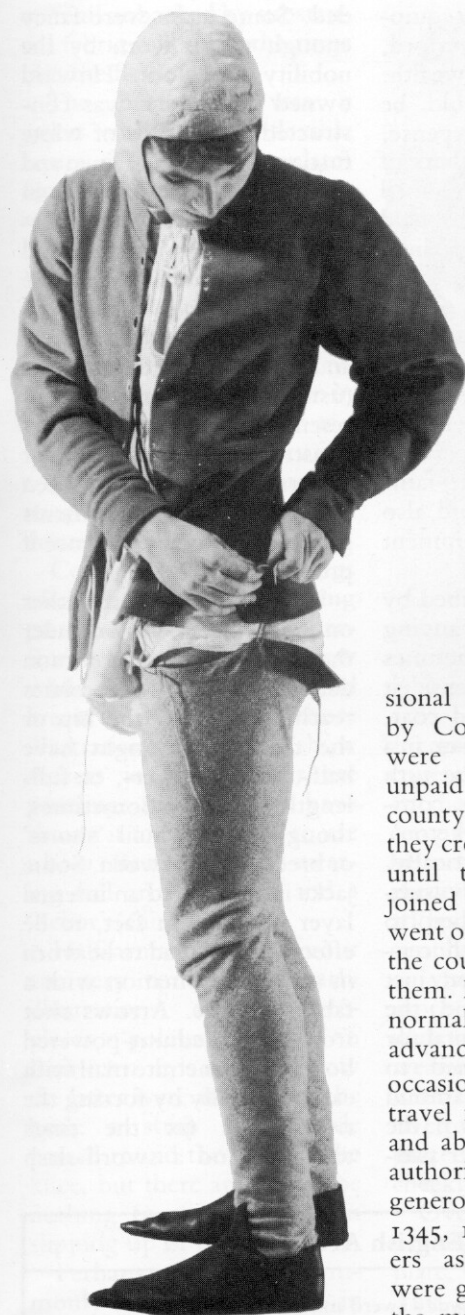
The basic pay of the archer — and indeed, of all English soldiers — remained unchanged for the 200 years following the beginning of the 14th cen-

tury, which seems surprising, given the steep rise in civilian wages in the aftermath of the Black Death. For 'out of England' service the rate was 6d a day (2½ modern pence) for the mounted, and 3d a day for the unmounted archer. Garrison service in England paid 4d and 2d respectively, though with some variations. There were no customary deductions from wages, apart from those made for missing equipment or absence from muster parades. The best assessment of what this meant in the context of contemporary income is Fowler's summary:

'In 14th-century England . . . probably half a dozen earls had annual incomes from land of around £3,000, but the majority of knights enjoyed only around £60 from their estates. The daily pay of a knight in the king's army was two shillings — a substantial sum for the times, and one which had to pay for the keep of two or three horses, a page or a valet and, more often than not, both. The Statute of Labourers (1351), which attempted to fix maximum wages in the years following the Black Death, allowed ten shillings a year for a ploughman (i.e. a skilled labourer). Though this was almost everywhere exceeded, a ploughman who earned £2 to £3 a year was doing very well for himself.'

Thus, a mounted archer on





6d a day for a seven-day week would have a pro rata annual wage equivalent of £9 2s 6d, and his foot-slogging comrade £4 11s 3d — respectively, more than three times and one and a half times the top rate for a skilled civilian worker squeezing the market for all his badly-needed skills were worth at a time of chronic agricultural labour shortage. Clearly, military service was no bad trade to follow.

The money for indentured troops was paid quarterly in advance; contracts often specified that if pay fell more than six months (sometimes, three months) in arrears, the contract was annulled — though, inevitably, there were occa-

sional lapses. Troops raised by Commissions of Array were expected to serve unpaid within their own county. From the point when they crossed out of the county until the time when they joined the main army, and went on to the king's payroll, the county continued to pay them. In practice, the county normally gave wages in advance to cover the journey; occasionally, though rarely, travel money was paid over and above the wages. Some authorities were more generous than others. In 1345, 125 Staffordshire archers assembled at Lichfield were given six days' pay for the march to Southampton; but 22 archers at Aylesbury were given only 6d each for their march to Sandwich.

On top of basic wages an archer might be given any number of bonuses or inducements in kind, and household archers scored heavily on this point: their employers were, after all, trying to keep picked men in their permanent service. Some indentures of the 1360s and 1370s promised normal pay plus a half, or occasionally even double pay. In 1467 Sir John Howard's household archer, Daniel, was given an annuity of £10, two gowns, and 'a house for his wife to dwell in at Stoke'. Later, Daniel received another 12d (a shilling), another new gown, two doublets worth five shillings

each, and 20d to attend a shooting match. In 1356 William Jauderel¹, an archer of the Black Prince's household, was given two oak trees from the royal forest of Macclesfield to repair his house at Whaley Bridge, Derbyshire.

A further source of income during the French wars, which cannot be calculated but which was potentially considerable, was plunder and ransom. Hard and fast rules laid down the shares from a prisoner's ransom: a third for the actual captor, a third for his captain, and a third for the army commander. The captor forfeited his share if he was caught cheating. The stripping of bodies, both alive and dead, could realise considerable wealth; the nobility liked to advertise their status, and some armours were even encrusted with precious stones. A baggage train would contain money, silks, furs and jewels, and contemporary accounts are full of instances of wealth amassed by plunder, even including furniture and feather mattresses from sacked towns.

¹An interesting example of a family tradition of military service is provided by the Jauderels: William's brother John also carried a bow for the Prince, and was one of a number of archers rewarded at Poitiers for their capture of a silver 'nef', a valuable salt cellar in the shape of a ship. Their father, Peter, had been an archer in Edward I's service.



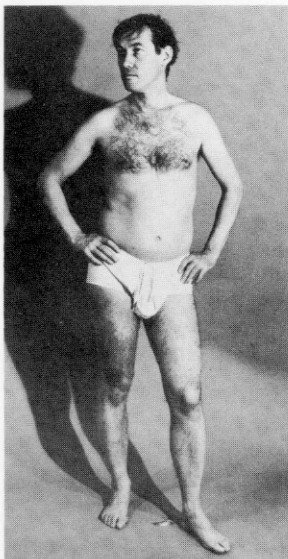
Left

Reconstruction of everyday 14th-century costume: shirt, 'single-leg' hose, doublet, and one of the many types of loose outer coat or jacket. The simple cloth coif headgear is very common in contemporary illustrations.

The most common materials used in an archer's costume would have been wool, fustian and linen. English wool, renowned throughout Europe, was available in many qualities: more than 50 grades are listed in 1343, priced at from £2 10s per 364-lb. sack, to £9 7s 6d. Fustian was a strong cotton/linen mix, woven to give a pile; its exact nature is no longer understood, but it should not be confused with the later Victorian use of the word for any workman's cloth.

Underpants and shirts were made of linen. Shirts were very long and full, with a small 'V'-opening at the throat closed by a single button or a lace. The woolcloth doublet had the secondary function of holding up the woollen hose, which tied to it by a series of metal-tipped laces known as 'points'. Wealthier men also had summer hose of lighter materials (e.g. a mysterious cloth called 'puke', which is not understood today); the wealthiest wore silk. The typical 14th-century single-leg hose attached individually, the gap at the top being filled with the shirt and covered by the doublet.

A vast range of boots and shoes were made of dressed leather or skins — goatskin was popular for long boots. Surviving footwear has smooth soles, which must have been dangerous in battle? Some 'footed' hose simply had leather soles stitched directly to them. Some illustrations clearly show short boots with slightly raised (wooden?) soles and heels. It is not known how widely stockings were worn, but it is now believed that knitted items were more common than was previously thought. (John Howe Group 1476)



The underpants, like modern 'boxer' shorts tied with a draw-string, were common throughout our period. The rest of this costume shows some typically 15th-century features: the gradual adoption, after c.1450, of 'joined' rather than 'single-leg' hose; the raising of the 'points' line from thigh to waist; and the smaller, tighter doublet.

It is difficult to reconstruct the hose: the quality of woolcloth available in medieval times, with the necessary stretch, has not now been made for about a century. The hose was made with material 'cut on the cross' for elasticity, with a single seam up the back of the leg. The 'joined' hose developed simply by sewing material to fill the gaps; a slightly padded gusset covering the necessary front opening later developed into the exaggerated 'cod-piece'.

The hose was lined for comfort and strength, sometimes with soft leather — about the hips, not down the legs, as this would restrict the stretch. Tightness varied partly according to class; the nobility favoured a skin-tight fit, but for people doing manual work a looser fit was necessary. The rear points were often left untied for easy movement; illustrations commonly show only about half the ten or so sets of points fastened.

In the face of such temptations the need for strict discipline was obvious. War regulations of the 14th and 15th centuries stipulate that to cry 'Havoc' — the signal that the enemy was beaten beyond recovery, and that looting could begin — before permission was given by the commander in chief was an offence punishable by death.

DRESS and EQUIPMENT

Fiction and films have long perpetuated the myth that medieval armies consisted of a few gloriously attired knights leading a mob of ragged peasants. Hard campaigning — as before Agincourt — could sometimes reduce an army to a parlous state; but, as in any age, most well-paid soldiers would be dressed in strong and serviceable clothing. The basic costumes of the period are illustrated and described elsewhere on these pages. The notes that follow cover only specifically military additions.

Over his basic clothing the archer wore a combination of some, or all, of the following: a padded 'jack', mail, a brigandine, plate armour, and perhaps a livery coat. House-

hold archers, normally equipped by their overlord, reflected that lord's wealth. City contingents could be equipped at public expense, e.g. the 120 York archers of 1482, when the council decided 'that all money paid for the standard, javalien, harnesse, jakks, and other costs, shall be born of the chambre . . .'. Archers raised by Commissions of Array were expected to come equipped, their gear either privately purchased or perhaps handed down in their families. Many men would also supplement their equipment with battlefield spoils.

The 'jack', as described by Mancini in the accompanying passage, was sometimes called a 'doublet of defense'; it was a padded, quilted coat, generally made of fustian, in a variety of styles. In the 14th century, when it was commonly known as the 'aketon', the stitching ran vertically, the sleeves were fairly substantial, and it reached to mid-thigh. In the 15th century it became shorter, just below hip-length, and the stitching was horizontal or diagonal, or combined to give a squared or diamond pattern. Sometimes the sleeves were no longer pad-

ded. Some jacks were fancy enough to be worn by the nobility. Sir John Howard owned one which was constructed of 18 folds of white fustian, four folds of linen and one fold of black fustian in front; 16 folds of white fustian, four folds of linen and one fold of black fustian at the back; the sleeves also being lined with layers of fustian and linen. In modern tests (using linen and calico to represent fustian, whose exact construction is no longer understood) it has been proved that these garments gave very effective defence if properly made.

The jack was worn either on its own, or over or under the second most common defence: mail. Mail shirts reached either to the hip or the thigh, and might have half-, three-quarter-, or full-length sleeves. Sometimes, though rarely, mail 'shorts' or breeches were worn. Some jacks incorporated an internal layer of mail. In fact, to be effective, mail had to be worn in some combination with a fabric defence. Arrows shot from only medium-powered bows will penetrate mail with ease, normally by forcing the rivets that fix the rings together; and a sword-slash

Contemporary Descriptions of English Archers

' . . . And he was clad in cote and hood of grene,
A sheef of peacock-arwes brighte and kene
Under his belt he bar ful thriftily;
His arwes drouped noght with fetheres lowe,
And in his hand he bar a mighty bowe.
A not-heed' hadde he, with a brown visage,
Of wode-craft wel coude he al the usage.
Upon his arm he bar a gay bracer,

And by his syde a swerd and a bokeler,
And on that other syde a gay daggere,
Harneised wel and sharp as point of spere.
A Cristofre on his brest of silver shene,
An horn he bar, the bawdrick was of grene.
A forster was he, soothly, as I gesse . . .

Geoffrey Chaucer, c.1386

' . . . The said archers were for the most part in their doublets, without armour, their stockings rolled up to their knees and having hatchets and battle-axes or great swords hanging at their girdles. Some were barefooted and bare-headed, others had caps of boiled leather and others of osier covered with harpy² or leather.'

Jehan de Wavrin, an eyewitness of Agincourt, 1415

' . . . There is hardly any without a helmet and none without bows and arrows: their bows and arrows are thicker and longer than those used by other nations, just as their bodies are stronger than other peoples' for they seem to have hands and arms of iron.³ The range of their bows is

no less than that of our arbalists; there hangs by the side of each a sword no less long than ours, but heavy and thick as well. The sword is always accompanied by an iron shield . . . They do not wear any metal armour on their breast or any other part of the body, except for the better sort who have breast-plates and suits of armour. Indeed the common soldiery have more comfortable tunics that reach down below the loins and are stuffed with tow or some other soft material. They say that the softer the tunics the better do they withstand the blows of arrows and swords, and besides that in summer they are lighter and in winter more serviceable than iron . . .'

Dominic Mancini, 1483

NOTES:

- 1: Not-heed = crop-headed.
- 2: Harpy = skins
- 3: It is interesting to compare this statement with the observation of a German in Maximilian's service that Henry VIII's army of 1513 was composed of 'really big, strong men'. There is a tendency to underestimate medieval stature. Skeletons from the gravepits of the battle of Wisby in Gottland, 1361, averaged 5 ft. 6 in.; Edward IV's skeleton measured 6 ft. 3 in. — though he was considered in his time a big man; and two skeletons, both identified as archers, from the Mary Rose, sunk in 1545, were 5 ft. 7 in. and 6 ft. tall. One can add an inch or two for the living height.

on mail unbacked by substantial fabric will force the rings into the flesh.

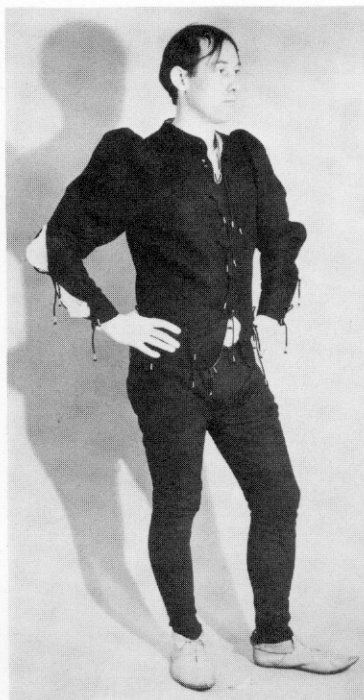
The brigandine was a jacket with internal, flexible layers of overlapping plates fixed to the material by a series of rivets ('nails'), whose heads were left exposed. Worn primarily by the knightly classes in the 14th century, they became very common in the next century. There was a wide variation in quality. Often referred to as a 'pair of brigandines', they fastened by laces or buckled straps along the shoulders and down the side.

Contemporary paintings often show archers wearing pieces of plate; and it is perfectly possible to shoot a bow while wearing a 'back and breast'. However, those illustrations which show archers in full armour are puzzling: modern tests have shown it to be difficult to use a bow effectively while wearing full arm defences and a 'bevor' (chin piece).

Half-arms and leg armour are very common in early illustrations, as are knee-pieces ('poleyns') worn on their own. It is not clear how the latter were attached to the hose: a strap and buckle passed round the back of the knee, but there appears to be nothing to stop the poleyn slipping up or down.

Perhaps the most commonly seen combination in the 15th century is the lower half, or 'placarte', of the typical contemporary two-piece breast plate worn over a brigandine. A well-to-do household archer might well wear a back-and-breast or a brigandine, half-arm defences and full leg armour.

The typical archer's head-gear of the 14th century was the bascinet or the conical cap. While the former was metal, other materials were used for caps, including overlapping, laminated plates of horn or whalebone as well as metal. The Agincourt description by Jehan de Wavrin mentions boiled leather (*cuir bouilli*) and osier — a type of willow wand used mostly for basket weaving, so perhaps meaning here



a cap-frame of basketwork covered in hardened leather. By the second half of the 15th century the class of metal helmet known as the 'sallet' predominated, in many variations. These could be fairly simply shaped, and visorless, or visored and a good deal more elaborate. Some illustrations show archers wearing a domed metal cap with two large round plates rivetted to the chin straps, to protect the ears and cheekbones.

Over mail and jack, but not usually over brigandine or plate, went the 'livery jacket'. The precursor of uniform, this was a coat in the colour(s), and bearing the badge, of the archer's lord or city. The colours and badge did not necessarily bear any direct resemblance to the heraldic arms: '... These bages be not their owne aremes, but onely certen markes & sygnes wherby there feedmen and vassals may be knowne frome other.' The jacket could be of any cut or style. Because of its availability, red was the most popular colour; during the Wars of the Roses the soldiers of 'Warwick the Kingmaker', the Stanleys, the Pastons, and the towns of Rye and Canterbury, among others, all wore red. Throughout the reign of Edward III the archers of Flint and Cheshire wore jackets



halved in green and white. Edward I seems to have been the first to issue the cross of St. George as a badge to his entire army, and this remained the distinguishing mark of English soldiers throughout the medieval period. Some illustrations show what appear to be royal archers wearing a white livery jacket with large St. George's crosses front and back.

To complete his outfit the archer had a dagger, a sword, and a small, round shield (the 'buckler' — see Mancini and Chaucer, herewith). The English were noted for their sword-and-buckler fencing right up to the 17th century. A popular misconception is that archers of the 14th and 15th centuries specifically carried a 'maul', variously described as a lead-headed mallet. Where the maul is mentioned in connection with archers, as at Agincourt, it is in cases where they have discarded their bows and seized any weapon or tool to hand, as the chronicles make clear in context. For small personal possessions the archer had a purse or pouch. We do not yet know how he managed the larger items shown in illustrations of camp scenes — haversacks, water bottles, cooking equipment, bedding, etc. No doubt he carried what he con-

Single-leg hose could be rolled down for comfort, as in many illustrations of labourers, who kept them longer than other classes; both types could be rolled up. Some hose had complete feet, others only a strap under the instep. Though they were generally of one colour, different coloured cloth could be used for the different sections, particularly after c.1450. From a fairly reserved use of e.g. one colour for one leg, two for the other, this fashion led to the multi- or 'parti'-coloured hose of the end of the century.

Better-quality doublets had body and 'skirt' each made in four parts for a good fit. That others were simply made in two halves is shown by the creases at the waist — characteristic of this method of manufacture — seen in many illustrations. Some 15th-century doublets had separate sleeves attached with points; fashionable examples after c.1475 sometimes even had separate upper and lower sleeves, again attached with points, with the shirtsleeves pulled through the gaps for effect. Doublets were always lined; some were collarless, others had small standing collars; the collar line went fairly deeply down the back in a 'V' or 'U' shape. Fastening was by either buttons, laces, or — often — by hooks and eyes.

veniently could, and stowed the rest in the wagons which accompanied marching armies in considerable numbers. **MI**

To be continued: Part 2 will describe and illustrate the bow, arrows, and associated equipment; and the use and effect of the weapon.

Acknowledgements:

John Howe; Caroline Thorpe; the Swiss Institute of Arms and Armour, Grandson; Nicholas Michael; Lucien Manganiello; and the members of '1476' and '1515'.

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First Special Service Force, 1942-44 (I)

JOHN R. DAWSON and
DON KUTEMEIER

The First Special Service Force was one of the least-known, but most distinguished Allied units of World War II. In its composition, its commander, its firepower, its combat reputation, and in the variety of its insignia and field equipment it was one of a kind.

Robert T. Frederick, then a lieutenant-colonel, US Army, first heard of the concept which gave birth to the FSSF in May 1942, when project papers for Operation 'Plough' crossed his desk in Operations Division. Days later he was its first commander. He

named it; selected its insignia; supervised its training; and led it in battle. By Anzio in January 1944 it had earned him his first general's star; by the fall of Rome, his second. In southern France it formed part of his 1st Airborne Task Force in the drive to the Italian

border; and his name was ever afterwards associated with it. (It could be added that the FSSF got Frederick portrayed on the movie screen by William Holden, though it must remain an open question whether he would have regarded the resultant film as much of a triumph . . .)

THE CONCEPT

The inspiration for and original mission of the FSSF emerged from the brain of the eccentric British genius

Geoffrey Pyke, and the 'think tank' of Combined Operations. The idea was to use snow mobility to reach vital enemy installations in occupied Europe during the depth of winter. Lord Louis Mountbatten and Mr Churchill were enthusiastic; but hard-pressed Britain lacked the manpower and industrial capacity to turn out the required specialist vehicles, ordnance and other special gear within a viable period. At the Chequers Conference of March 1942 the scheme, code-named 'Plough', was offered to the Americans. Gen. Marshall accepted the project, in the form of a raid on the Rjukan heavy water plant and vital hydro-electric installations in Norway, as a diversion for Operation 'Bolero', the cross-Channel invasion then planned for early 1943.

As the project passed into US hands it was still blessed, or cursed, by the close involvement of the only man who understood it — Pyke. Pyke's fertile mind was often impatient of practical detail, and his personality and habits were an acquired taste. The first-named CO of the Force, Lt.Col. H. R. Johnson, decided within 24 hours that he could not work with Pyke. Lt.Col. Frederick, author in late May 1942 of a critical Operations Division assessment of 'Plough's' prospects, was named to succeed him by Gen. Eisenhower, chief of the Division, early in June. (Frederick had the patience to endure Pyke's less attractive aspects until he could be removed relatively smoothly, which had been achieved by early July.)

The unit was activated on 20 July 1942, and Frederick received his colonel's eagle on taking command. As first envisaged, FSSF was to comprise one-third US, one-third Canadian and one-third Norwegian personnel, but this soon changed to 50/50 US and Canadian (in practice, 40% was the peak Canadian strength.) Frederick and his deputy, Paul D. Adams, were both American, but from there down all ranks were as

Maj. Gen. Robert T. Frederick, America's most wounded general officer of the war, photographed at Monte Carlo in 1944. He wears the officer's 'chocolate' dress tunic and 'pink' trousers, 'pink' shirt, tan tie and dark OD (in practice, brown) officer's service cap. Under his parachute wings are three lines of medal ribbons, and one of his numerous foreign awards is pinned on the right breast. Note also officer's doeskin gloves.

Col. Frederick led the Force in the invasion of Kiska in the Aleutians in August 1943; in the reduction of German defences at Monte La Defensa — which had resisted attacks by one British and two US divisions — in December 1943; and in clearing, together with elements of US 34th and 36th Divs. placed under his command, the right flank of German defences before Cassino in December 1943–January 1944. Promoted brigadier-general on 30 January 1944, he led the Force in the defence of the Mussolini Canal sector of the Anzio beachhead, February–May 1944; and in the drive to Rome, May–June 1944. Promoted major-general and appointed to lead the 1st Airborne Task Force for the invasion of southern France, he took over command of 45th Div. on the disbandment of the Task Force in November 1944. In 1947–49 Gen. Frederick commanded a military mission to Greece during that country's civil war. He retired from the US Army in 1955.



equally divided as the three-regiment establishment allowed; and the men were teamed, trained, and sent into combat in mixed units. The first troops arrived at Ft. Harrison, Helena, Montana, in late July and early August.

Pay and discipline were not identical, however; Yanks and Canadians who got in trouble were handled by their own people under their own army's codes, which tended to be rather stricter for the latter. Nor was Canadian pay, either 'regular' or 'jump', ever brought up to US levels: an early attempt caused squawks from a jealous RCAF. Administratively the Canadian contingent was listed in home records as 2nd Canadian Parachute Battalion.

No single unit or branch predominated in supplying the picked volunteers who streamed into Helena from the far corners of the US Army and from active units all over Canada and in Britain. An observer in Helena's downtown bars would have been bewildered by an exotic variety of kilts and spurs until early autumn 1942: men came in faster than supplies, and standardisation of dress uniform took a while — particularly given the reluctance of members of proud units to shuck their colourful distinctions. (Standard training uniforms were achieved rather quicker: US olive drab coveralls, leather Air Corps flight jackets, and jump boots were the norm.)

Despite the wet blankets which Frederick had thrown on the idea in his original report, particularly on such aspects as the lack of an effective means of withdrawal after action, his enthusiasm was unquestionable when he switched from a desk to a field assignment. The details of the scheme sucked him in, just as the emotive words on the bulletin boards ('paratroops, ski troops, commandos') sucked in volunteers for the rank and file. He warned to the tasks of procuring the necessary tools for 'Plough', and honing his men for the mission; indeed, he became



so emotionally involved that years later his daughter, Anne Frederick Hicks, told veterans at a reunion that she had felt actively jealous of the way he so often spoke of 'his great Force', and so seldom of 'his great daughter'!

FORMATION and TRAINING

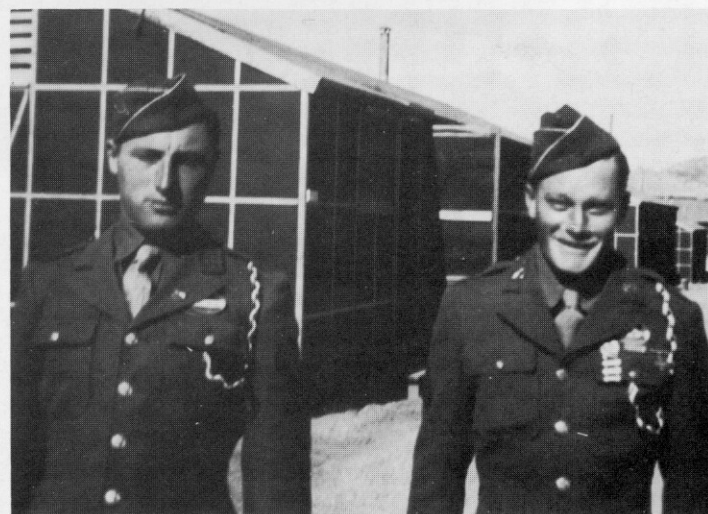
The recruiting posters stressed men with an outdoor background — trappers, lumberjacks, cowboys, etc. — and a minimum of eight years of grammar schooling. Though a sizeable proportion did hail from within city limits, they were rugged types, strongly seasoned with men matching the original ideal.

The average age of all combat personnel was slightly higher than in most elite units — just under 26 years: a fact which at first worried deputy commander Adams, until he found that it was in fact an advantage.

With plentiful volunteers but little time, elimination began at once. Within two days to two weeks of arrival the required two parachute jumps had been completed, and concentration shifted to infiltration and demolitions skills. Since the mission was then seen as sabotage by small groups the focus of training

Above

These two Force members are (left) American Cpl. Stanley Slatum, and (right) Canadian Sgt. G. R. Shepherd. Both wear the US Army model 1942 dress tunic and trousers, wool shirt and low quarter shoes; but Shepherd is still wearing his Canadian field service cap instead of a US garrison cap, and Canadian tie, rank chevrons and 'Canada' shoulder title. Note that both have completed their two qualifying parachute jumps and wear US wings. (Courtesy C. O. Robinson)



Left

Forcemen R. G. Clum (left) and Fred Aaron (right) in front of barracks at Ft. Harrison, 1943. Both wear the Force aiguillette in non-prescribed fashion, attached to the pocket button instead of with both ends carried up to the epaulette button. Both wear the parachute backer, but Clum is missing his wings and one collar brass: they may not have been issued yet, or they may have been pawned in town, where such trinkets were always good for 'beer money'! (Author's collection)

effort was on simply 'getting there and doing the job' — the rest could come later if time allowed.

From the first reveille, physical conditioning was stressed, with to-the-limit doses of calisthenics, obstacle courses, and 30- to 40-mile hikes with full packs, topped off with a final non-stop march of 60 miles in 20 hours. Combat loads were built up to a peak of just under 100 lb. (at the Kiska landings, to be covered in a subsequent article).

Two key elements of the 'get-there, get-out' training — the Weasel, and skiing — had to be postponed for lack of the vehicle and of snow, respectively.

Pyke's specification called

for a two-ton tracked vehicle deliverable by sea or air, capable of outrunning enemy skiers on snow and of traveling short distances without snow. Since no such vehicle existed, other phases of training continued while Army and Studebaker Corp. researchers pulled one out of the hat. Some 36 early T-15 models arrived at Helena eventually, and were kept in a pool for rotation training. But in winter 1942-43 Operation 'Plough' was cancelled for various political and operational reasons; and with FSSF newly tasked as a 'shock' infantry formation, the need for them was less urgent.¹

Neither were skis to be used extensively, although

Norwegian instructors did arrive to give preliminary training before the passes were white. Two gruelling weeks on the Continental Divide saw the entire combat echelon doing 30-mile treks with full packs and rifles, and able to keep formation on a long downhill slope. Capt. Kiil, the senior instructor, judged 99% of the combat echelon to be competent skiers by Norwegian Army standards by the end of February 1943.

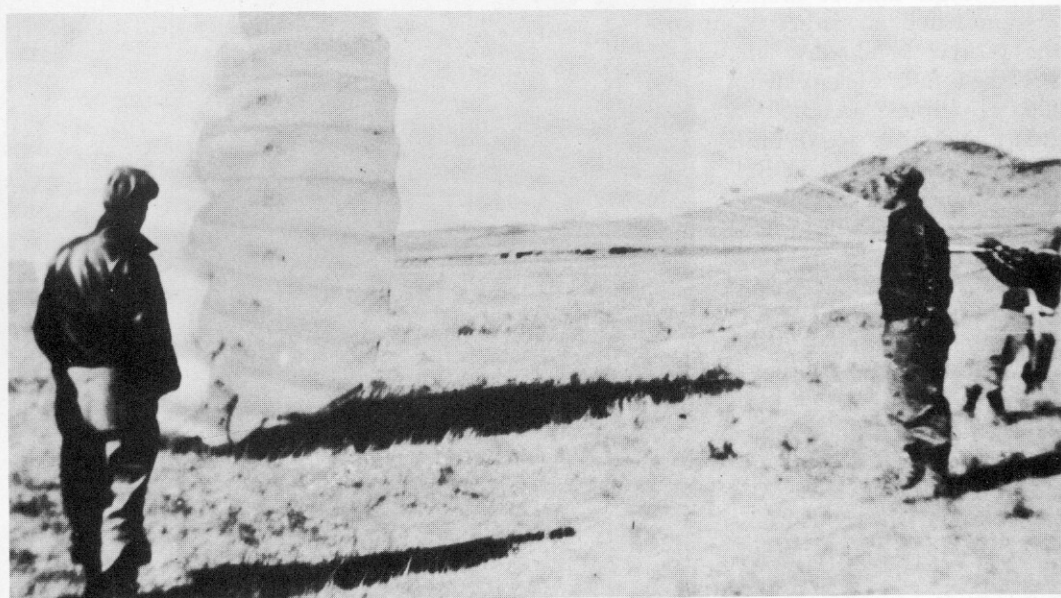
Other spin-offs of the abandoned 'Plough' project figured heavily in FSSF history. The fur-lined parkas and eiderdown sleeping bags gave comfort from the bitter cold of the Apennines to the chills of Anzio. Neither was

laid aside until the weather turned definitely balmy.

Likewise, Geoffrey Pyke's 'water-snake', for getting explosives into the innards of hydro-electric stations, proved suitable for combat and sabotage needs from start to finish. This came out of US Army labs at Ft. Belvoir, Va. as RS sticks connected by primacord into handy 30-lb. demolition sets which were safe to handle, and could be wrapped or concentrated in any way required. The Force held title to the first 70 tons produced by Ordnance, so there was never a shortage.

The RS surplus was the key to obtaining the light-weight firepower vital to 'Plough' as projected, and valuable to the shock force that later

Forcemen training at Helena, Montana in autumn 1942; the man on the right has just completed one of his two qualifying parachute jumps. The training uniform consists of flight coveralls, Air Corps leather jackets, fatigue caps and jump boots. (Courtesy Arky Cameron)



Right

Footwear display under a cot at Ft. Harrison, January 1943. (Left to right) low quarter dress shoes; two pairs of ¾-length leather shoes; one pair mountain ski boots, smooth sole; one of the soldier's two issued pairs of jump boots; and a pair of five-buckle overshoes. At the end of the cot is stacked a mountain rucksack with frame; on the cot are two blankets, and the Army issue cold weather 'comforter'. (Courtesy Tom O'Brien)



¹As far as we can discover, FSSF never used Weasels in combat. Some 750 M-29s were shipped to Italy for the Force, and kept crated at the Santa Maria base; but Col. O. J. Baldwin, FSSF Supply Officer, told the authors that none were ever issued, the entire complement being returned to Ordnance when the Force left Italy. Their poor performance on rocky ground made them useless in Italian conditions; though JRD does remember a call for volunteers to drive them at the Rapido crossing, he is unaware if they were actually used. A few were uncanted in Italy for training FSSF replacements.

evolved. Bartering two tons of RS with the US Marine Corps brought FSSF its 125 Johnson LMGs, not available from the Army. (Although some BARs had to be substituted as the stock of Johnsons eroded in months of heavy fighting, the Force's affections always lay with the lighter, faster-firing Johnson.)

In the carbine-and-RS days of 'Plough' the Johnson gun was the FSSF section's most concentrated firepower asset. 'Plough's' cancellation, and the Force's conversion — from winter 1942-43 — to a shock combat force, added the Browning LMG, 60mm mortar, bazooka and flamethrower at a rate of one each per section. A 50% increase in Force manpower brought each regiment up to 650 all ranks, giving the FSSF an overall strength of some 1,850.

Basic structure was unaffected by the expansion. Service and maintenance functions were performed by the all-US Service Bn.; and the brigade's combat echelon was divided into three regiments, each of two battalions, each of three companies, each of three platoons, each of two sections. The section, in its definitive form, comprised:



A photo which recalls the style of the 1940s in every line . . . This enlisted man is wearing the 1942 dress tunic, with matching trousers bloused into jump boots: the proud sign of the airborne soldier, displayed at every opportunity. The wool shirt and tan tie are prescribed for wear with this uniform; the round service cap is not. He wears the force aiguillette; 'Canada' and crossed arrows enlisted men's collar brasses; and Canadian embroidered, above US metal, parachute wings. (Courtesy R. T. Lipscomb)

Below

4th Co., 3rd Regt., First Special Service Force parading in Helena, Montana in April 1943 before leaving for final testing of the unit's overseas readiness at Ft. Ethan Allen, Vermont.

The company commander and the officer at the right of the trio behind him wear dark Canadian ties with tan shirts and enlisted men's 1942 dress uniform; central officer of trio, and officer hidden by company commander, wear US officer's 'chocolate and pink' uniforms with tan shirt and tie. All the officers wear brown low quarter shoes:

The men wear either model 1940 or 1942 enlisted dress tunic and matching trousers, wool shirts with tan ties (apart from the odd Canadian type), and jump boots. All wear M1C parachutist's helmets with liner and moulded chin cup. All wear either the web pistol or web rifle belt, with pouches appropriate to their own weapons; visible weapons include the M1 Garand with fixed bayonet, M1 carbine, .45 Thompson SMG, and .45 M1911 A1 pistol. (Author's collection)



Author John Dawson photographed in March 1944 while on a pass from the Anzio beachhead to Naples, and stopping off at a Ranger motor pool to visit an old school friend. He wears conventional uniform apart from the British battledress blouse, with a Force patch sewn over its original, unidentified patch. John cannot recall exactly how he got hold of the battledress. (Courtesy Dick Warren)



Leader (staff sgt.), Thompson gun; 2ic, doubling as .30 cal. Browning LMG commander, also carrying a Thompson; Browning first gunner, .45 pistol and M1 rifle; assistant gunner and ammo carrier, M1 rifle; 60mm mortarman with .45 pistol and M1 rifle; assistant and ammo carrier, M1 rifle;

Johnson LMG gunner; assistant, with M1; bazooka gunner; and assistant, with M1 (bazooka nearly always carried, though this team doubled as flamethrower operators). This left only two men designated purely as 'riflemen', although, as listed, a lot of rifles were carried by other men.

In his history, Col. Burhans points out that in light weaponry the 108 combat sections of the FSSF had the firepower of a division, though lacking the heavy machine guns and mortars of conventional support companies.

Shortly before ski training, the Force learned its 'Ps and Rs' (picks, pitons, rings and ropes) during mountain climbing instruction on the bald Missouri River bluffs.

Finally, in April/May 1943, came amphibious training at Camp Bradford NOB, Virginia. Carrying full loads, the troops trained with rubber boats on Chesapeake Bay. The boats were taken close in shore by LCTs and LSTs; they were then launched, and paddled to narrow beaches at the foot of cliffs which the troops were to scale. Although 'Plough' was dead, the FSSF was still intended for hitting soft spots considered impregnable by the enemy.

The skills learnt in both these final phases of training would figure largely in the Force's initiation to combat.

FORCE INSIGNIA

While basic uniform worn by the FSSF was standard quartermaster issue, a number of unique insignia were worn.

Branch of Service Shoulder Cord Aiguillette

Authorised in autumn 1942 at Ft. William Henry Harrison. The cord is of three-piece flat weave construction, with alternating red, white and blue dyed cotton parachute cord to a total length of 26 inches. An attachment loop of 1/16 in. wide white biased tape is sewn to each end. The cord was worn under the left arm of dress uniform, the loops attaching to the left

epaulette button. It was locally made, since no stocks were available from Army Quartermaster Warehouses. The following variations have been noted:

(A) Red, white and blue cord with blue attachment loops.

(B) Red, white and very dark, almost black cord with white loops.

Enlisted Man's Branch of Service Garrison Cap Cord

Procured from existing stocks of Cadet Military Training Corps, Civilian Conservation Corps held by the Philadelphia Quartermaster Warehouse. Two types have been noted. Both have red, white and blue cotton cords of 1/32 in. diameter. The first type has white cotton attachment tape running the length of the braid. This type was as originally issued, and sewn to the garrison cap in place of all other branch of service cords. A second type — unconfirmed, but mentioned by veterans — has olive drab attachment tape. Issued to later replacements, it is thought to be of Italian manufacture.

Parachute Backer This was first issued at Ft. Harrison in spring 1943 to FSSF members who had completed two parachute jumps. It is oval, with equal horizontal stripes of red above white above blue. In the white centre stripe are two holes, machine-overcast with gold-coloured cotton thread, to take the posts of the parachutist qualification badge. The whole outside edge of the backer is similarly overcast. The badge and backer were worn on the left breast above the pocket flap; the backer was not sewn to the uniform, being held in place by the badge.

Officers' Branch of Service Collar Insignia

Each officer was issued one pair of crossed arrow branch of service insignia; these were authorised on 27 August 1942 by the Heraldry Division of the War Department. These insignia were initially made by the firm of A. H. Dondero of Washington, DC. They are made of brass, with two clutch posts on the back, and are unmarked. Later models



First Special Service Force uniform and insignia:

Top photograph:

(Top) Enlisted man's garrison cap with branch of service cap cord — note that the appearance of a white thread running along the length of the cord is a highlight. (Below cap, left) Parachutist qualification badge and Force parachute backer. (Below cap, right) Canadian parachutist's qualification wings, retained by qualified Canadian members of FSSF.

(Left card) Enlisted mens' collar insignia — US and Canadian right collar insignia, above branch of service insignia worn by both on left collar. (Right card) Large and small patterns of Canadian officers' upper collar insignia; US officers' upper collar insignia; and officers' crossed arrow lower collar insignia worn by both, here on original issue backer.

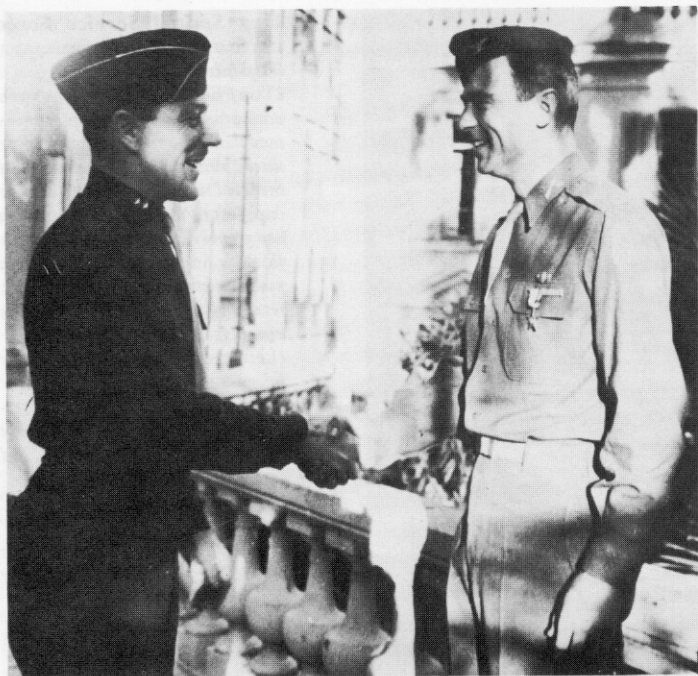
(Centre) First pattern FSSF shoulder sleeve insignia; (below) 474th Infantry Regiment: (bottom) Kiska Invasion Patch — 'Corlett's Long Knives'. (Below left card) 3rd Ranger Bn. scroll; (below right card) 99th Norwegian Bn.; (outer edge) FSSF branch of service aiguillette.

Bottom photograph:

(Left) Model 1940 enlisted man's dress uniform tunic belonging to FSSF veteran Fred Aaron: note second pattern Force patch; parachute backer; aiguillette; enlisted pattern crossed arrow and 'CAN-ADA' collar brasses.

Note OD wool shirt and tan tie. (Right) Officer's model chocolate brown dress tunic, displaying smaller pattern officer's 'CAN-ADA' collar insignia, and officer's crossed arrow insignia. Note officer's garrison cap, with mixed gold and black cord in place of any particular branch of service cord. Note 'forest green' shirt.





Above
Maj. Gen. Frederick (left) with Col. Edwin A. Walker, who took over command of the Force when Frederick was promoted to command 1st Airborne Task Force. Frederick had just presented Walker with the Silver Star; they were photographed in Monaco in December 1944. Frederick wears the forest green officer's wool shirt with khaki (tan) tie, the dark brown officer's garrison cap with gold general officer's cord, and the forest green trousers. Walker wears the same cap, an OD wool shirt with tan tie, and OD wool trousers. (Author's collection)

Below
Two former Rangers, from one of the battalions disbanded in Italy after the heavy fighting of early 1944, serving with the Force at Menton, France, in 1944. Both wear their Ranger scrolls above the FSSF shoulder patch, on a 'tanker's jacket' and OD wool shirt respectively, worn with OD wool trousers and jump boots. (Courtesy Andy Shontz)



— probably post-war replacements rather than late war issue — were made by N. S. Meyer Inc. of New York. These insignia were worn in the branch of service area on the lower left and right lapels of dress uniform, and on the left collar of shirt-sleeve uniform.

Enlisted Branch of Service Collar Insignia This was authorised for US soldiers in the FSSF on the same date as the officers' insignia. The one-inch brass disc is flat, with the stamped, raised crossed arrows of the disbanded Indian Scouts. The back has two clutch posts for attachment in the prescribed manner to the left lapel.

Canadian Collar Insignia The officers of the 2nd Canadian Parachute Bn. wore the officers' crossed arrow collar insignia in the same way as their 'lower 48' comrades. There are examples of a Canadian model with split pin attachment; those examined are unmarked, and otherwise closely resemble the Dondero-made US examples.

In place of the 'US' collar insignia worn on both upper lapels, Canadian officers wore brass 'CANADA' insignia. Two types have been examined:

- (A) Unmarked, with stamped and cut-out letters, and split-pin attachment.
- (B) Unmarked, cast, with

screw back fastener; smaller letters than type A (little larger than enlisted men's Canada type D, below, and different letter spacing); $\frac{7}{16}$ in. by $\frac{11}{16}$ in. overall.

Initially, Canadian enlisted men wore only the branch of service insignia, on the left lapel only; unlike their US comrades, they had no national insignia to balance the disc on the right. This was corrected by an order for the purchase of enlisted collar brass of the US pattern in early 1943. The collar insignia is a one-inch brass disc with the word 'CANADA' stamped into the centre. The authors have noted several variations among examples examined:

(A) Flat disc, screw back, stamped body; maker 'Scully Ltd', Montreal.

(B) Flat disc, twin clutch posts, stamped body, unmarked.

(C) Slightly domed disc, twin clutch posts; breakaway body of five parts (disc, crossed arrows with threaded post, threaded rear crossbar, two clutch posts and two clutch pins); maker, 'Gemsco', New York.

(D) Flat disc, screw back; breakaway body of three parts (disc, crossed arrows with threaded post, round threaded nut); unmarked.

Shoulder Patches

After many design problems the shoulder patch of the Force finally evolved into the red arrowhead, officially described as follows:

'The shoulder sleeve insignia consists of an Indian spear head in red on which words USA-CANADA in white. The design has been prepared by the Heraldic Section, Office, Quartermaster General, who has advised that the spear head (or arrow head) is not now authorized any organization. The use of this insignia bearing the words USA-CANADA was agreed to by Canadian officials as a suitable replacement for the shoulder sleeve insignia bearing the word 'CANADA' normally worn by Canadian forces.

'The insignia would be worn by all men in the Force;

a total of approximately 7,500 will be required and can be had in approximately two weeks time. The insignia would not be worn overseas. September 3, 1942'

The following variations have been noted.

(A) First model: wavy edges around the outside; the reverse showing very few white threads; $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide by $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. high.

(B) Second model: straighter outside edges; the reverse showing considerable amounts of white thread.

(C) Made for the film 'The Devil's Brigade', this reproduction is much larger than the originals, and is of very flimsy construction.

Despite the War Dept. regulations, the Force patch was indeed worn overseas.

The shoulder insignia of the **Ranger Battalions** should properly be included here; after the disbandment of the 1st, 3rd and 4th Ranger Bns. at Anzio early in 1944 survivors were transferred into the FSSF as replacements, and photos of the period show personnel wearing the Ranger scroll above the Force patch.

The Ranger scroll is distinguishable between different battalions by different embroidered designation numbers. The insignia is in the form of a black cotton or wool scroll with red cotton borders. In white cotton thread are embroidered the unit number (left side), the word 'RANGER' (centre), and the abbreviation 'BN' (right side), all in ornate serif capitals. **MI**

To be continued: Part 2 will describe and illustrate combat operations, and specialised items of combat gear used by the FSSF.

1st Lancashire Fusiliers on the Somme, 1 July 1916

MICHAEL CHAPPELL

The Battle of the Somme — the ‘Big Push’ — was not one, but a series of battles that took place between 1 July and 19 November 1916. The military effort expended by the British, French and German armies involved was prodigious, as the final toll of casualties bears witness: these are estimated by some sources at 1.2 million men — 600,000 Allied, 600,000 German. Yet it is the ‘first day of the Somme’ that is best remembered by the British, even after 70 years: its dark memory kept alive by casualties so appalling, and suffered in such a short time after the opening moments of the battle that 1 July 1916 has become a symbol in the public imagination for the worst aspects of the British soldier’s experience of World War I.

By the summer of 1916 the hope vested in the greatest citizen army that Britain had ever put into the field was high. After almost two years in the building, the morale

and confidence of this ‘New Army’ were equally high, and its human quality was of the very best: well might the men who made up the bulk of the British Army be

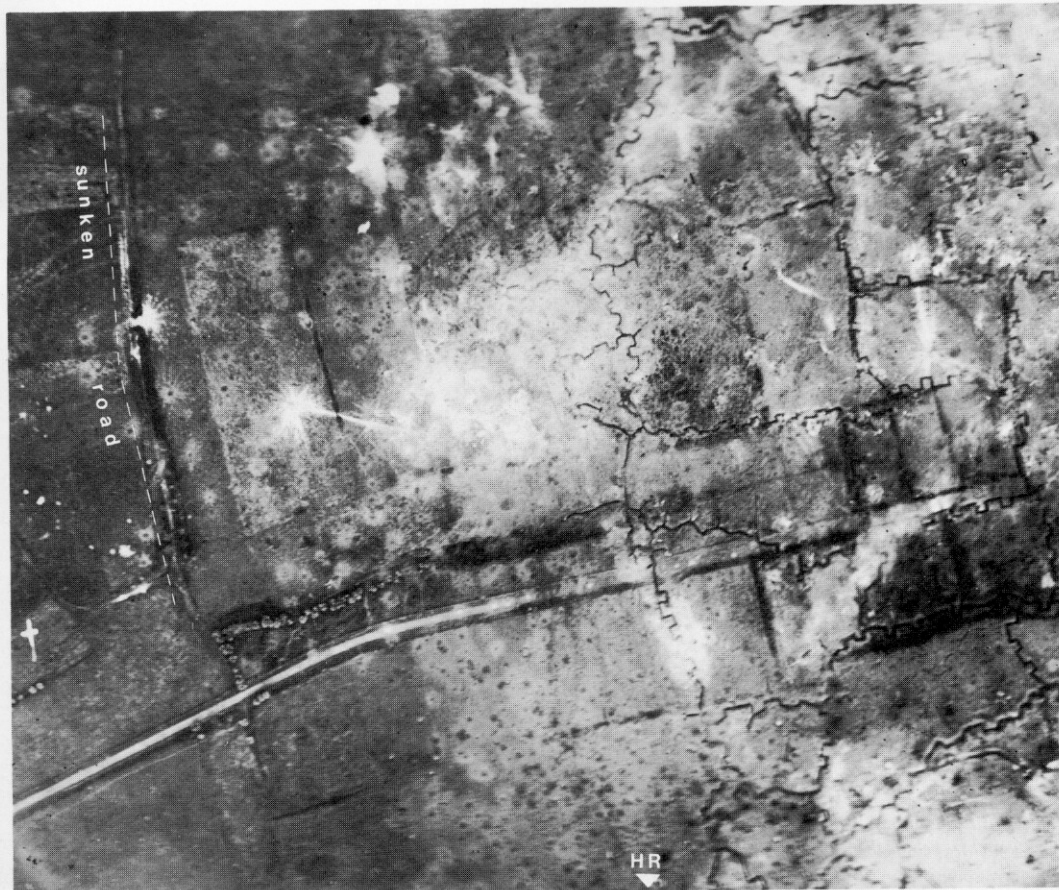
described as the flower of British manhood. A high proportion of them were volunteers who had come forward in a wave of patriotic enthusiasm as yet undimmed by any very intimate or widespread knowledge of the realities of trench warfare. The circumstances under which 60,000 of them were killed, wounded or made prisoner in the hours following dawn on 1 July 1916 have been written into history as slaughter, sacrifice, military blundering of the first magnitude — or as one of the most glorious chapters in the annals of the British Army, depending upon the axe which the particular writer wishes to grind. The truth is more obscure and unpalatable. The ‘Big Push’ was never intended to achieve a decisive victory: its purpose

was to exact a toll in lives.

The Germans had already begun to make overtures for an armistice by the end of 1915. They, like the French and British, realised that the Western Front had become locked into a stalemate — but a stalemate which left Germany in by far the most advantageous bargaining position. As far as the Allies were concerned, an early armistice was out of the question: they needed to strengthen their position before parley could be considered, let alone opened. The method chosen to achieve this, on the Western Front, was attrition.

Bargaining parity was to be attained by exacting a toll for every month of continuing hostilities: by killing Germans, and by going on killing them until the enemy was prepared to talk on terms favourable to the Allied leadership. That battles of attrition involved an exchange of lives was well understood by the men who led the British and French armies. The 60,000 British casualties on 1 July 1916 were only the first instalment; there would be many more. The British and

continued on p.28



British aerial photograph of the ground over which the 1st LFs were to attack on 1 July. The German trench complex is at the right (east) of the frame; the Auchonvillers-Beaumont Hamel road runs roughly west-east across the lower part of the frame; the sunken road from which the assault companies advanced runs northwards from it near the left edge; and the Hawthorn Redoubt, mined just before zero hour with 45,000 lb. of ammonal, lies immediately south of the edge of the frame at ‘HR’. Note the white glare of chalk spoil, which gave the 1st LFs’ trenches their nickname of ‘White City’. (Imp. War Mus.)



These photographs reconstruct the appearance of a young **Corporal** of '**C**' Coy., **1st Bn., Lancashire Fusiliers** in 'battle order', July 1916.

The shell of the British steel (shrapnel) **helmet** never changed; note the greater width of the brim when seen from front or back than when seen from the side. The original chinstrap was found to garrot the wearer if blast ripped the helmet off, and the strap and liner were modified so that it would shear under pressure. Painted khaki when new, it soon weathered to dark brown; note here the LFs' yellow hackle. Helmets were worn with a variety of covers, usually of hessian.

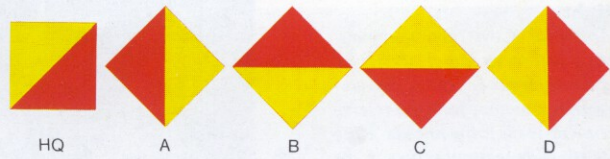
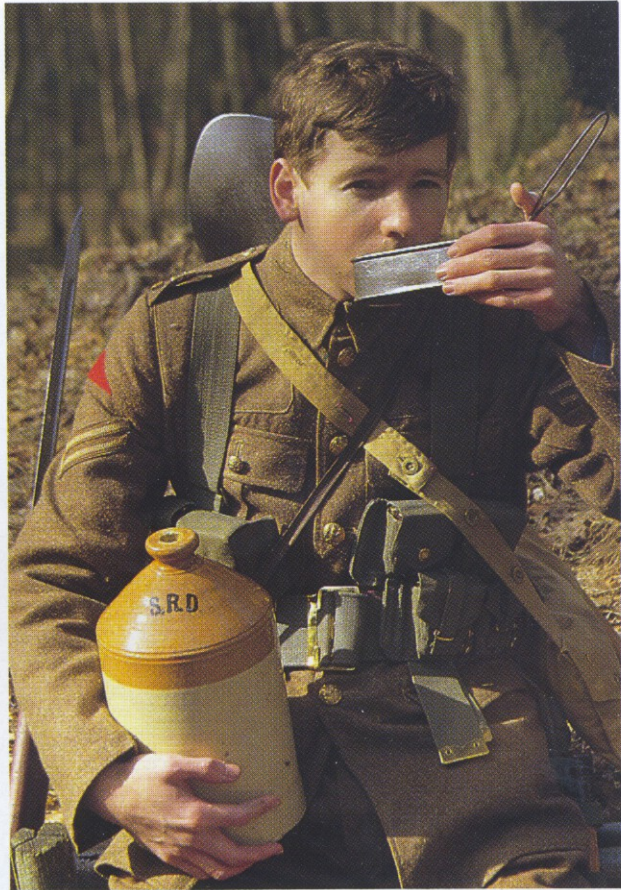
The British 'Tommy's' **service dress**, underwear, socks and cardigans were made of wool, his shirt of flannel; they had a superior resistance to cold and wet than many modern garments. The basic pattern of 1902 service dress was unchanged throughout the war; however, large numbers of a 'utility' pattern were issued in 1914 and 1915, until gradually replaced by the original pattern in the last 18 months of the war. 'Utility' uniforms had large, pleatless breast pockets and lacked rear seams, both features aiding mass production; some had plain

buttons instead of the crested general service pattern. Note here the 29th Division's sleeve insignia; the LFs' brass shoulder cypher and fusilier grenade; the 'C' Coy. rear patch (see other company patches illustrated above far right); corporal's chevrons, and rifle marksman badge.

The 1st LFs were equipped with the **1908 pattern infantry equipment** which, in 1916, was worn in the manner intended with little adaptation other than strapping to it items which could not be accommodated in its various pouches, haversacks and packs. Special supplementary items for carrying pistols, Lewis magazines, etc., were not yet common: Lewis magazines were carried either in their issue boxes, or in bucketlike canvas panniers (see above right).

The standard British **anti-gas equipment** in summer 1916 was the Phenate-Hexamine (PH) helmet — a hood of cotton-lined flannel impregnated with chemicals which neutralised the toxic effects of gas as air was drawn through it. The helmet was fitted with goggles, and a valve held in the mouth through which air was exhaled. Like the earlier 'P' helmet, it was carried in a distinctive cotton drill haversack, worn here behind the left hip.





The British **ankle boot** of the Great War period — the 'blucher' — was made of reversed Indian cowhide, packed with grease on issue and kept dubbed on active service. There is ample evidence that the boot, and the 1914–18 wool uniform, stood up to cold, wet conditions better than the modern equivalents issued to the Falklands Task Force in 1982.

The standard **rifle** throughout the war was the Short, Magazine, Lee-Enfield Mk III and III*. Robust and effective under Western Front conditions, it was accurate up to 300 yards in the hands of an average shot; and its bolt action enabled the average soldier to attain rapid rates of fire. The '**Cutter, Wire, No. 1 Mk. II**' illustrated here attached to the muzzle was operated by trapping wire strands between the 'horns' and pushing the rifle forward; this caused the cutter to rotate, severing the wire.

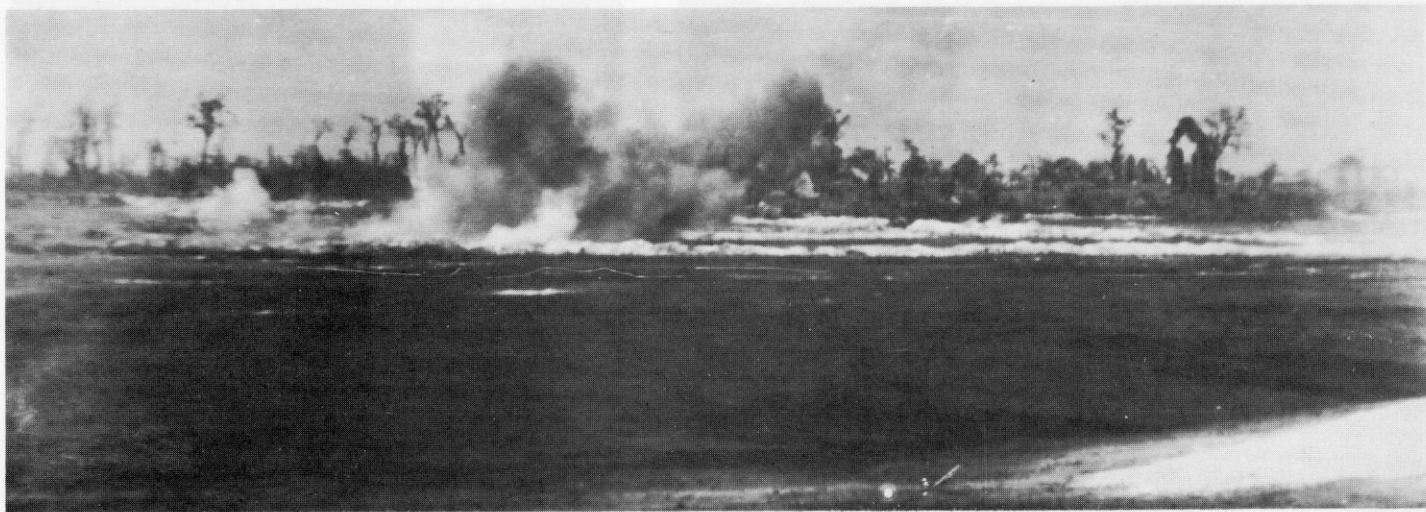
The secondary weapon was the 'bomb' — the hand or rifle **grenade**. The No. 5 Mills bomb weighed 1 lb. 5 oz.; it could be thrown up to 30 yards, and its ammonal charge was detonated by a five-second fuse. The No. 3 Hales rifle grenade, introduced in 1915, had a rod which fitted down the rifle barrel; it was fired by a powerful blank (ballistite) cartridge out to

ranges up to 200 yards, detonating by an impact fuse.

By mid-1916 all infantry battalions had 16 **Lewis light machine guns** (above left). Over four feet long and weighing more than 30 lb. loaded, it was cumbersome by today's standards, but handy when compared with the Maxim generation of machine guns then in service. Air-cooled and gas-operated, it was prone to stoppages unless kept very clean; it needed skilful handling, and quite a large team to carry its ammunition. However, its 47-round magazine and cyclic rate of fire of 550 rounds per minute enabled the gunner to put down a great volume of fire out to ranges of up to 600 yards.

Service rum (above right) originated from the Supply Reserve Depot, Deptford, where bulk rum from the West Indies was decanted into stoneware jars marked 'SRD' (claimed by cynics to stand for 'Seldom Reaches Destination'). Rum rations were authorised by higher formation HQs in bad weather or when an attack was imminent; in practice, a rum issue became a daily event for infantry in forward trenches. Army rum was dark, undiluted, and very strong. The pannikin lid of the D-section **mess-tin** made a handy cup or a miniature frying pan.

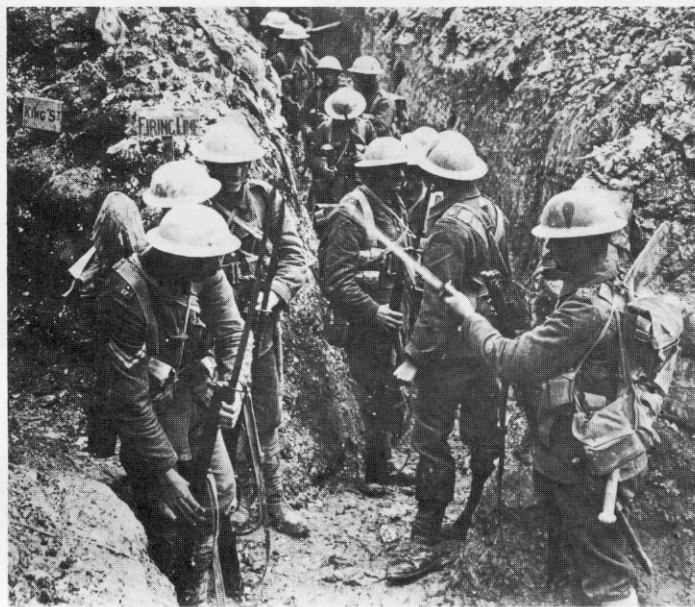




The British bombardment: heavy artillery striking the German trenches in front of Beaumont Hamel prior to the assault of 1 July. It was the lifting of this sort of fire that enabled the Germans to man their trenches ten minutes before the attack by the 1st LFs. The state of the ground, and the appearance of trees in the background, remind us how quiet a sector the Somme had been before summer 1916. The fighting of the next five months would reduce villages to rubble and trees to a few blasted stumps in a moonscape of craters. (Imp. War Mus.)

Right

Men of 'C' Coy. (note configuration of patches on rear of jackets) fix bayonets for the benefit of the camera prior to moving from this reserve trench up to the firing line via 'King Street'. The warrant officer in the right foreground is CSM Nelson who, with the company commander, was shot as soon as they started to call their men out of the trench. After taking many casualties, the company made their way forward via the tunnel/communication trench to the sunken road. (Imp. War Mus.)



extra fuss had been caused by the fact that the awards had been distributed by ballot. The legend of 'Lancashire Landing' and 'six VCs before breakfast' was grist to the mill of the jingoist wartime press. Like the 'Glorious Glosters' of 35 years later, the men of the 1st LFs loathed the cheap publicity which surrounded them — and for the same reason: the men who had earned the glory were not there to enjoy it. No less than 33 officers and nearly 600 other ranks of the 1st LFs lay dead in Gallipoli. The battalion of 1916 was a very different unit from the band of long-service regulars who waded ashore at Cape Helles the previous year. It had been brought up to strength with volunteers from civilian life: keen, but raw and lacking experience. The process of dilution, which would reduce the battalion to a collection of con-

scripts by 1918, was already well under way in 1916.

But this was of no concern to the press. Reporters, photographers and film crews, inspired by the prospect of a repeat performance of 'Lancashire Landing', focused their attention and their cameras on the 1st LFs during the preparation for the battle, and on the day of the attack itself. They have left us a few classic still photographs, and a unique ciné record of this historic occasion.

THE PLAN: AND THE REALITY

The battalion's objective on 1 July was the village of Beaumont Hamel. The 1st LFs were the left-hand assault battalion of the 86th Infantry Brigade. On their right, the 2nd Royal Fusiliers were tasked with the assault of the 'Hawthorn Redoubt', a major German strongpoint

which was to be mined before the assault. The remaining battalions of 86th Brigade were in support. The other two brigades of 29th (Regular) Division were to assault positions to the right — the south — of 86th Brigade.

There were still enough regulars left with the 1st LFs to ensure that the assault on Beaumont Hamel would be planned and conducted in a professional manner. A tunnel had been dug out into No Man's Land as far as a sunken road which ran across the battalion's front, parallel with the enemy front line. Between ten and 15 feet deep in places, this made a perfect forming-up place. At 03.30 hrs. on the morning of the assault B and D Companies, 1st LFs, with the brigade bombing company, and the eight 3-in. Stokes mortars and their crews of the 86th Light Trench Mortar Battery, filed forward through the tunnel, and deployed along the sunken road to await zero hour at 07.30 hrs. They went undetected for some time. Meanwhile, A and C Coys., 1st LFs prepared to 'jump off' from the battalion front line, some hundreds of yards to the rear of the sunken road, in support of the assault companies.

Preparation had been thorough, deployment under cover of darkness had gone without a hitch, and the prospects for a successful operation were excellent. As the supporting artillery bombardment, which had been going on for weeks, built up to an incessant roar, battalion

Empire forces would lose nearly a million dead before the armistice offered in 1915 became reality three years later.

ONE BATTALION'S BATTLE

One of the most closely watched British battalions on 1 July 1916 was the 1st Bn., Lancashire Fusiliers. On 25 April 1915 the battalion had been awarded three Victoria Crosses — later increased to six — for their conduct during the murderous landing on W Beach at Cape Helles, Gallipoli. These awards had attracted the publicity always reserved for the VC, and an

headquarters moved up to the sunken road. A hot breakfast was served to all; and the official cinematographers started to film the men in the sunken road and the battalion front line. Then — as is nearly always the case in war — things started to go wrong.

It had been decided to detonate the mine under the Hawthorn Redoubt at 07.20 hrs., ten minutes before zero hour. The 2nd Royal Fusiliers were then to rush the crater; and, in order to avoid casualties among the British attackers, heavy artillery fire was to lift from the Hawthorn Redoubt at this moment. But, for reasons which are still unclear today, the artillery plan was ammended so that *all* heavy artillery lifted at 07.20, leaving only the fire of field artillery, mortars and machine guns to keep the Germans below ground in their dug-outs while the attack began. In this the German troops facing the 29th Div. refused to

co-operate. Braving the fire that still fell upon their positions, they manned their firing line. Minutes later, the Germans facing the sunken road saw the first waves of Lancashire Fusiliers climbing into the open.

At 07.20 hrs. the mine beneath the Hawthorn Redoubt exploded; B and D

Coys., 1st LFs prepared for the advance across No Man's Land to the German front line trenches, while the Stokes mortars opened up a rapid supporting fire. In the din of the shooting it is certain that nobody appreciated that the really punishing element of

continued on p.36

Centre

A film still from 'Battle of the Somme' — of poor quality, it is nevertheless of great interest as a rare record of 1914-18 troops genuinely filmed in the front line, going into battle. The still shows men of the 1st LFs and the 86th Light Trench Mortar Bty. waiting in the sunken road for zero hour. The mortarmen, who will not have to leave the safety of cover, look cheerful: the infantry look more thoughtful. The cameraman took footage up and down the packed lane, and no doubt intended to go forward with the support waves. Like the operation, the film plan had to be drastically altered.



Below

Another still from the film, showing 'C' Coy. moving up — note patch on rear of the central figure's jacket. He is a second lieutenant, and like all officers wears other ranks' 'Tommy' uniform and equipment, though with the collar open to show the shirt collar and tie. The left-hand man shows the extra ammunition bandolier, a GS shovel thrust under the pack, and the triangle of tin on the pack which identifies an NCO. (Imp. War Mus.)





Flintlocks in Battle

PETER HOFCHRÖER

A member of the Incorporated Militia of Upper Canada — a unit of the Military Re-enactment Society of Canada — firing a Brown Bess replica. In its various slightly differing patterns, the Brown Bess was the standard infantry arm not only of the British but also of many other European armies during the Napoleonic period, being widely exported as part of Britain's programme of supporting with arms and gold those states which she could not support with expeditionary forces on the ground. Strong, simple, and relatively reliable, it had the advantage of a larger flint than its French Charleville counterparts: about an inch wide, as opposed to about three-quarters of an inch, which gave a better chance of plentiful sparks and quick ignition. Its main weakness was the fixing of the barrel by means of lugs brazed to the barrel and pins through the stock. The pins were harder to remove when cleaning the weapon than were the barrel bands of French muskets, and were easily lost. The lugs were attached to the barrels after boring, and — according to the musketry expert, Col. George Hanger — this process distorted the barrel: '... crooking the barrel in soldering on the loops with hard solder ... from the barrel being made hot, it draws the barrel also and spoils it; barrels should never be put in the fire after they are bored, and should not be fixed in the stock by means of loops, but with rings, as the foreign arms are.' (Reflections of the Menaced Invasion, 1804.) We are grateful to Richard Felton for his striking photograph.

It is a cliché of historical writing on the period of the Napoleonic Wars that the flintlock musket carried by the Napoleonic infantryman was slow to load, wildly inaccurate, and highly unreliable under campaign conditions. Broadly, there is no arguing with these general criticisms; but the fact remains that armies so equipped won battles, founded glittering reputations, and filled mass graves across half the world during a period of almost continuous campaigning lasting more than 20 years. Clearly, in trained hands and under suitable circumstances, the flintlock musket was as devastating as any weapon in history. It may therefore be valuable to try to look beyond the easy rhetoric; and to examine the rather more vivid picture painted by contemporary quotations, the results of contemporary trials, and the experience of modern 'black powder' enthusiasts with faithful, working replicas of the weapons of that time.

The basic operation of the smooth-bore, muzzle-loading flintlock musket is too well known to justify more than the briefest description here. First seen in the hands of European soldiers late in the 17th century, it had been improved and refined in various ways; but the 1790s found it basically unchanged since its appearance, and near the end of its useful life. It consisted of three main 'assemblies': the lock, stock and barrel. The barrel was an iron tube blocked at the breech end by a screwed-in plug, and bored immediately ahead of the

plug with a 'touchhole' up to 4mm across, which connected with the exterior priming pan. The barrel was mounted, by means of lugs and pins or external metal bands, into a wooden stock.

The lock mechanism on the right side of the breech consisted of a sprung 'cock' — a hammer with screw-clamp jaws; the priming pan, a small recessed metal block; and the 'frizzen'. This was a combined striker plate and priming pan cover on a spring pivot. Pulling the trigger dropped the cock, and the flint wedge in its jaws struck

the frizzen. This flew upwards and exposed the powder in the pan, at the same instant that sparks from the impact of flint and frizzen fell into the pan. The priming flared, and sparks passing through the touchhole set off the main charge rammed into the breech end of the barrel.

There were few significant differences between the muskets used by the various armies. Overall length varied between about 4 ft. 8 in. and 5 ft. 1 in.; overall weight between about 10.3 lb. and 11.4 lb.; calibre, between 15mm and 19mm, the majority being between 17mm and 18mm. The cartridge consisted of a spherical lead ball, and a measured charge of black powder, wrapped together in a tube of thick paper. Charges varied between ½ oz. and 1 oz.; ball weight varied across about the same range.

LOADING and FIRING

Although the musket was a relatively simple weapon mechanically, loading and firing it was a complex procedure. To be effective, the firer needed to be a highly practised individual working in rhythm as part of a well-drilled team. Most muskets required some 20 separate actions during the sequence:

(1) The musket was brought down from the

shoulder to a position held across the body. (2) The cock was pulled back to the safety 'half-cock' position. (3) Powder residue and fouling was wiped from the pan with the right thumb; if badly fouled, the pan and touchhole had to be cleared with a 'pricker' and brush. (4) The musket was supported in the left hand while the right hand removed a cartridge from the pouch, usually slung on the right buttock. The pouch had a deep flap of leather, and individual rounds were often kept in holes drilled in a wooden block; fumbling one out could be awkward. (5) The cartridge was lifted to the mouth. (6) The 'non-ball' end of the paper tube was torn off between the teeth. Only now could loading begin.

(7) Some powder from the open cartridge was shaken into the open priming pan. (8) The frizzen was closed, to retain the powder. (9) The musket butt was grounded, by the soldier's left foot. (10) The rest of the powder was shaken into the muzzle. If not supervised, men who disliked the 'kick' of the weapon often contrived to scatter a good deal of the powder on this point.¹ (11) The ball, still in its paper tube, was pressed into the muzzle, the paper acting as a wad for a tight fit. (12) The ramrod was pulled upwards from its 'pipes' or slot under the barrel. (13) When clear of the pipes, it was turned around so that the belled-out end was pointing down. (14) The belled end was placed in the muzzle, and the ball and paper were rammed home, compressing the powder charge. (15) The ramrod was withdrawn, and reversed again. (16) The ramrod was slid back into its pipes. (17) The musket was brought up to the firing position. (18) The cock was pulled fully back. (19) On the order, the trigger was pulled.

The Prussians, so often the military innovators of the

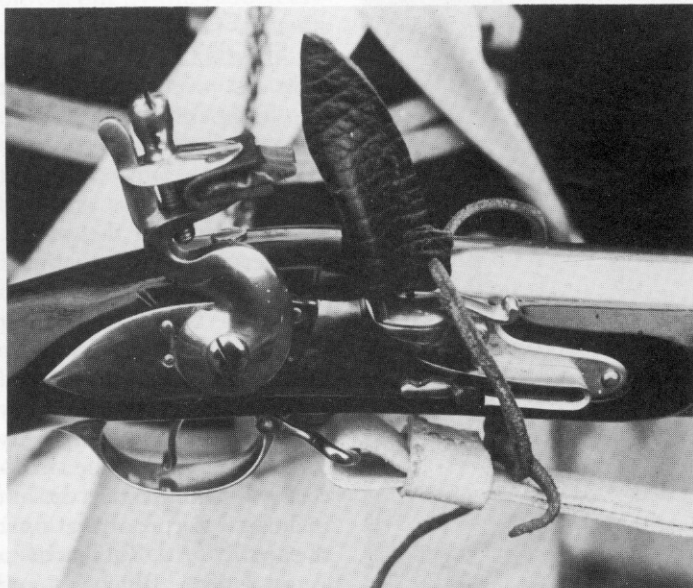
18th century, introduced two important improvements. In 1773 they gave their muskets 'cylindrical' ramrods, which could be used without reversing them as they were pulled from the pipes; and in 1781 they introduced the 'conical' touchhole. This was wider at the barrel end than the pan end; the pan did not have to

be primed separately, as powder was forced through the hole when the main charge was rammed home. These simple changes shaved vital seconds off the loading procedure. (Other Prussian improvements included a guard round the pan, which both protected the priming from the wind and prevented

injuries from excessive 'flash' from the priming; and a spring-loaded bayonet clip.)

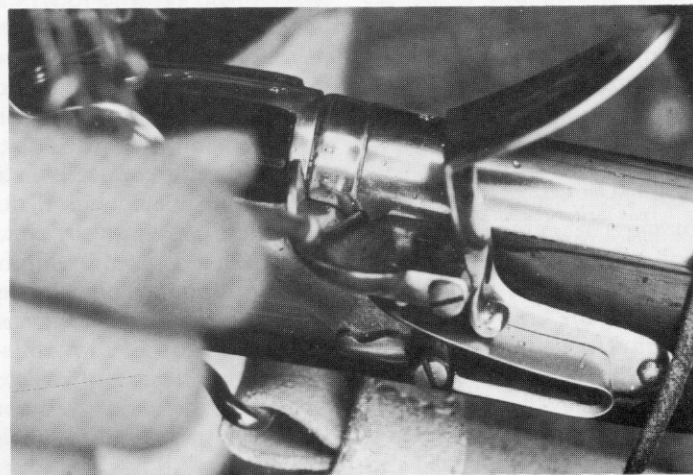
The rate of loading and firing was subject to many variables, and it is difficult to produce any reliable or helpful statistics. A trained man, drilling unhurriedly far from danger, might manage to load in 15 seconds — a few seconds less, with a Prussian musket. (Long trained to high rates of fire, Prussian troops recorded up to an extraordinary *seven* shots a minute even in the first half of the 18th century. In the Napoleonic Wars their best men were reckoned to be about twice as fast as the French, three times as fast as the Austrians.)

Under battle conditions, this rate dropped drastically after a few shots. It should be stressed that contemporary infantry tactics were entirely based upon volley fire. The classic method of 'giving fire' was the rolling volley by sub-units. In this way the enemy could be brought under fire by some part of a unit's line every few seconds. Even ignoring the difficulty of ordering this measured sequence by shouted commands in the din and smoke



Above

The lock of a modern reproduction of the Brown Bess. The hammer is pulled back to 'half-cock' or safety position. Note the leather stall over the frizzen, intended to prevent accidental discharge. The flint wedge is wrapped in a piece of leather; an alternative was lead foil. This protected it from the direct pressure of the screw jaws, which might crack the flint if tightened too fiercely.



Centre

The priming pan is open and empty; the soldier clears his touchhole with the 'pricker' or bodkin, carried on a chain hooked to a buttonhole, together with a small brush.



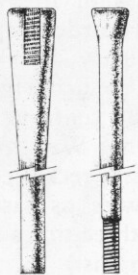
Left

Having torn off the end of the cartridge with his teeth — a necessary part of weapons drill, which explains why contemporary recruiters inspected would-be enlistees' mouths for sound front teeth and a close bite! — the soldier pours part of the powder charge into the priming pan. At this stage it was very vulnerable to rain and wind.

¹This did not degrade the practical performance of the weapon as much as one might think. It was calculated that only a proportion of the slow-burning powder was consumed before the ball left the barrel — which would have had to be 45 in. long for complete 'useful burn'.

Right

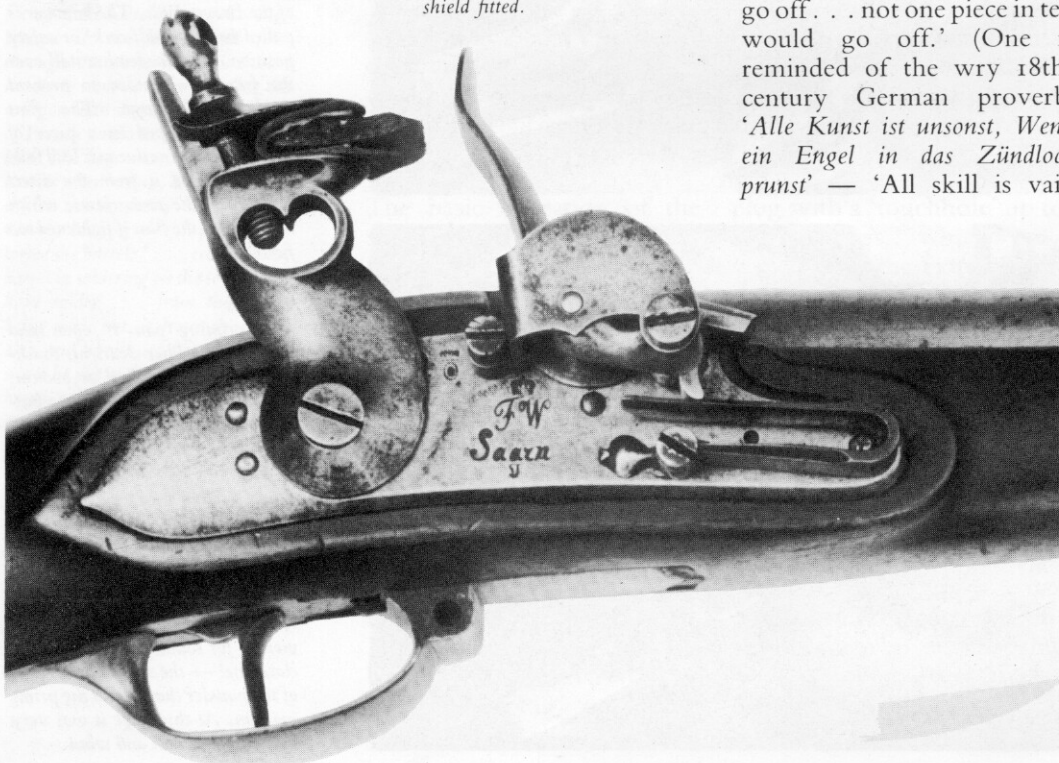
A modern 're-enactor', dressed as a Royal Artilleryman of the Napoleonic period, withdraws the ramrod from its pipes under the barrel. Note the awkward stretch necessary for this manoeuvre. To reverse the ramrod for use soldiers often rested one end against the cross belts on their chest and slid their right hand down to get a better grip. The advantage of the Prussian 'cylindrical' ramrod was that the bottom end could be inserted straight into the muzzle at this point, without reversing.



Sketches of the Prussian 'cylindrical' ramrod (left) and a conventional 'conical' ramrod. The reason the latter had to be reversed, and the belled end used for ramming, is clear — the other end bore a small screw-tapped section, which would have distorted the soft lead ball. The Prussians simply sunk a screw-tapped recess into the belled head of their ramrod, taking a 'male' tool fitting. This screw fitting was for the attachment at need of the 'worm', a corkscrew tool used for 'drawing' misfired charges. This irritating process took several moments, while the soldier fished and twisted in the barrel with his ramrod, trying to engage the point of the worm in the lead ball. In action a man with a musket jammed with useless powder and paper was far more likely to swap weapons with a casualty. (Christa Hook)



Lock of the 1809 'New Prussian' musket, perhaps the best mass-produced weapon of its class. This particular example was manufactured at Saarn in the Rhineland. Note the guard around the priming pan, a feature seen on Prussian muskets from the 1782 model onwards; the pan itself was made of brass, inhibiting corrosion. Some Austrian muskets also had the fire- and wind-shield fitted.



of battle — described below — it is easy to imagine how one or two men, fumbling their drill in the haste and tension of combat, could quickly destroy the sequence. Apart from human frailty, the characteristics of the musket itself made it almost inevitable that fire became slower and more ragged after only a very few volleys.

MECHANICAL SHORTCOMINGS

Rain and wind could render the 'firelock' useless. With armies often marching and sleeping in wet weather, paper cartridges could become damp in the pouch. Powder poured into wet pans and barrels would become an inert paste. Men covered their locks and muzzles with oilcloth or rags when out of battle; but as soon as they were uncovered, rain easily found its way into the smallest gap — and frizzens did not make a waterproof seal over the pans. At Katzbach in August 1813 Blücher's and MacDonald's troops fought a vicious battle largely with bayonets and clubbed butts in torrential rain which made firing impossible. Colour Sgt. Calladine, 19th Foot, recalled losing comrades in a skirmish in Ceylon in 1818: '... the day being very wet, their firelocks would seldom go off. ... not one piece in ten would go off.' (One is reminded of the wry 18th-century German proverb: 'Alle Kunst ist unsonst, Wenn ein Engel in das Zündloch prunst' — 'All skill is vain

when an angel pisses in your touchhole'.)

Even on dry days a sudden gust of wind could easily blow the priming from the pan before the sparks could ignite it. The author has often had his face covered by showers of such unburnt powder while taking part in Napoleonic re-enactments.

The flint itself might function only sporadically. A chancy material, it often has hidden flaws. A gunflint might shatter at the first shot, sending sharp splinters flying. It might send sparks everywhere but into the pan. It might refuse to spark for a few shots, and then start working again. It might fall out of the jaws of the cock for no apparent reason. Even the best flint starts to wear away quickly, its forward edge becoming saw-toothed; it often needs replacing every 20 or 30 shots, a chore which takes up to half a minute.

Even in ideal conditions, a misfire rate of 15% was not unusual; in battle that figure could rise as high as 100% on occasion. The risk of misfire became higher with each shot fired. Burnt gunpowder produces a very thick fouling in the pan, the touchhole and the barrel. As a battle progressed, more and more time had to be spent in clearing the pan and touchhole with brush and pricker. Fouling made it noticeably more difficult to force the ball down the bore after even a few shots.

These weaknesses might all be classed as mechanical — as endemic to the weapon itself. As significant were the human difficulties of the man firing it.

BURNS, BRUISES, NOISE and SMOKE

Tired, probably hungry and thirsty, and either chilled or parched depending upon the weather in which he had been marching and bivouacking, the Napoleonic soldier fought for his life with a heavy and unpleasant weapon which must sometimes have seemed as dangerous to him as to his enemy.

The whole battlefield use of the flintlock was based

upon massed firing. The individual was seldom given the ammunition or the leisure to practise individual marksmanship; indeed, in many armies it was positively discouraged. The very design of some weapons — Prussian, and imitative Russian types — reflected a deliberate attempt to make it hard for the soldier to 'draw a bead' by setting barrel into stock at an uncomfortable angle. Individual marksmanship was a distraction from the soldier's task, which was to keep tight formation and pull his trigger when ordered. Aiming was the task of his commander, who used the massed volleys of his whole unit like a giant shotgun. Given the inaccuracy of the individual musket (see below) this was an entirely rational approach.

The normal formation used to achieve this effect was the three-rank battalion (although two-rank formations were the norm for the British, and were used increasingly by other armies as the wars progressed). With three ranks it was usual for the front rank to kneel and the second and third to stand, the third firing through the gaps between the shoulders of the second. The kneeling rank thus had to suffer the discharge of their comrades' muskets above their heads; and the second rank had the pans of the first rank flaring immediately in front of them, and those of the third around their ears. Apart from the burning powder and wadding thrown out from the

muzzle, the ignition of the priming was itself liable to cause painful, and even dangerous injury. There are many references to badly burned faces and ears. The *London Chronicle* of 21 April 1796 reported: 'Yesterday the guards had a grand field day in Hyde Park. An accident happened to one of the privates, who had his eye nearly blown out by the sudden discharge of the firelock of the person next to him in the ranks.' If such accidents could happen under the tight supervision of the parade ground, what must it have been like to use these weapons in battle?

Using a flintlock for any length of time inevitably bruises and burns the hands painfully. There is a famous account in the unpublished journal of Napoleon's senior medical officer, Baron Larrey, referring to the 1813 campaign. The army was ordered to select four soldiers from each of 12 corps to be executed for cowardice, as an example, on suspicion of having self-inflicted wounds to the hands. Powder burns on skin and sleeves were cited as evidence. Larrey, convinced that these were *bona fide* wounds, persuaded Napoleon to allow him to make a detailed examination; and managed to convince the Emperor of the soldiers' innocence in all cases. The raw conscripts' arms drill was shown to be hopelessly deficient: men in rear ranks were consistently wounding those in front by resting their muskets against them, or by

underestimating the kick and letting the discharging weapon jump sideways.

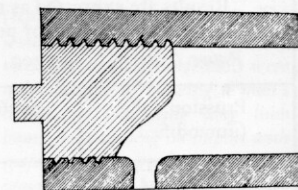
The kick of a flintlock is fairly brutal — roughly comparable to that of a modern 12-bore shotgun, even though the slow-burning powder gives a 'pushing' sensation. Lt. Edward Wheatley, 5th Line Bn., King's German Legion, at Waterloo: '... I fired a slain soldier's musket until my shoulder was nearly jellied and my mouth was begrimed with gunpowder to such a degree that I champed the gritty composition unknowingly ...' A *Soldier of the 71st*, after Vittoria: 'I had fired 108 rounds this day. Next morning we awoke dull, stiff and weary. I could scarce touch my head with my right hand; my shoulder was as black as coal.'

Wheatley's reference to 'champing' powder reminds us that black powder is hygroscopic. Already dehydrated by fear and exertion, the Napoleonic soldier then spent some hours biting open cartridges and getting powder in his mouth. Not only does this taste very unpleasant; it also dries up the saliva rapidly. Many memoirs mention the raging thirst caused in this way.

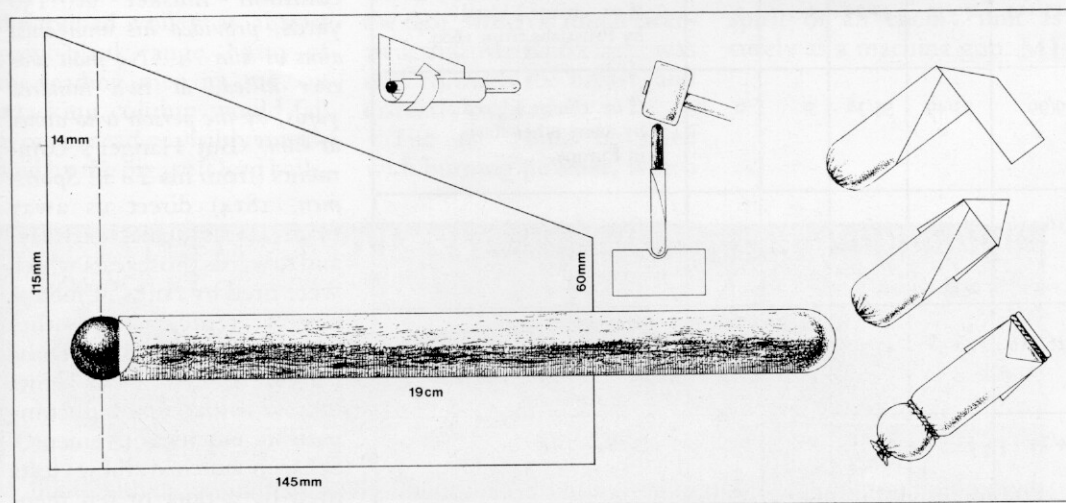
Bruised, burnt and parched, the soldier striving to follow a complex loading drill was also disoriented by sheer noise, and smoke. The report of a musket, while it does not have the whiplash crack of a high-velocity rifle, is at least as impressive as that of a heavy shotgun. To stand

in the middle of a massed battalion firing volley after volley was deafening, even bewildering after a time. Military memoirs are also rich in references to the choking, acrid, dirty-white smoke which hung closely round the firing line after even a single volley, unless there was a stiff wind. This was not like the drifting haze of a wood fire: it was as impenetrable as a chemical smoke screen. From *Recollections of Rifleman Harris*: '... I was so hotly engaged, loading and firing away, enveloped in the smoke I created ... that I could see nothing for a few minutes but the red flash of my own piece amongst the white vapour clinging to my very clothes ... often I was obliged to stop firing, and dash it aside from my face, and try in vain to get a sight of what was going on ...'

Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that our singed, battered, deafened, choked and half-blinded soldier sometimes made mistakes, even without mechanical failures. Confused men sometimes ram-



Simple cross-section of the breech of the Prussian 1782 musket, showing the biased face of the breech plug and the conical touchhole, both of which helped expel powder into the pan when the charge was tamped home.



Left

Tools and method for manufacturing paper cartridges. We take these views from a French source, but the process was more or less universal. The paper was formed into a tube by rolling round a hardwood rod, whose recessed end held the ball. The cartridge was then placed ball-end first into a recess in a hardwood block, and a few mallet blows mashed the crumpled ends of the paper together. The charge was then poured in from a measure, and the other end was folded over twice. Some examples seem to have been tied with thread (like the 1782 Prussian cartridge, bottom right); others, not. French cartridges were supplied to the troops in packets of 15 rounds. (Christa Hook)

The initial flare from the pan of a Brown Bess; and (right) a split second later, the full ignition. Note the dense puff of smoke, and the large sparks caused by burning grains of powder. The 'hangfire' between the ignition of the priming and the detonation of the main charge could vary a good deal, depending upon the quality of the powder; it was often about .25 sec., and sometimes as much as .5 sec. — which, in the subjective view of the man firing it, can seem an extraordinarily long time. This had two drawbacks. The flare was enough to make a man flinch off his aim before the main charge went off; and the long hangfire might easily persuade him that he had a misfire, so that he was slackening his grip on the stock when the musket went off and kicked him painfully in the shoulder. The author has seen experienced 're-enactors' caught out in this way when deceived by the longer hangfire of powder from an unfamiliar source, and Napoleonic conscripts must have been just as vulnerable to such mistakes.



med a new charge on top of the last, forgetting that they had not fired. Firing a multiple load often burst the musket, with disfiguring or fatal results. Even correctly loaded weapons might have thin spots worn in the bore, or hairline cracks in the stock, which could give way without warning in action. (A good friend of the author is now partially paralysed by a shoulder injury caused when a flintlock stock broke as he

fired a blank round.) Men who lost, or even fired away their ramrods were not, however, as helpless as they would be in the later days of rifled muskets, when this curiously common mistake left them physically unable to force a ball down the barrel. The Napoleonic soldier could load 'running ball', if his barrel were not too foul: dropping the ball into the muzzle without wadding, and 'jogging' it down to some kind of

seat on top of the powder by thumping the butt on the ground. Compression would be low, but at least he could fire.

THE RECEIVING END

So much for the firer: what of the target? The first question must be, what were his chances of getting hit?

Contemporary trials results need careful interpretation; not only do they reflect ideal conditions, but the information they record is sometimes irrelevant to combat. Picard may tell us that a Charleville firing from a clamped rest at a range of 150m recorded an average error of 29 in. vertically and 23 in. laterally. Col. George Hanger may reinforce the point: 'A soldier's musket, if not exceedingly ill-bored and very crooked, as many are, will strike the figure of a man of 80 yards, it may even at a hundred; but a soldier must be very unfortunate indeed who shall be wounded by a common musket at 150 yards, provided his antagonist aims at him . . . No man was ever killed, at two hundred yards, by the person who aimed at him.' But Hanger's comments (from his *To all Sportsmen*, 1814) direct us away from individual accuracy, and towards those tests which were fired by ranks of men at targets representing other ranks of men. The accompanying table is picked for its relative completeness of comparison and its convenience. Scharnhorst had these tests fired by a rank of ten men,

Scharnhorst's Musketry Trials, pub. 1813

Results are expressed as the number of hits/penetrations obtained by each weapon out of 200 rounds fired (i.e. halve for percentages) at a one-inch wooden plank target 6 ft. high by 100 ft. wide.

Range (paces):	100	200	300	400	500	600	Comments
Prussian 1782 (unmodified)	92/56	64/58	64/56	42/23	26/8	19/2	(1 oz. charge.) Used by Prussians until 1806/07.
Prussian 1782 (modified)	150/148	100/100	68/64	42/30	0	0	(3/4 oz. charge.) Had modified butt shape.
Prussian Nothardt	145/145	97/94	56/43	67/22	0	0	(3/8 oz. charge.) Used by Prussians 1805-15 and by German states 1806-15.
'New Prussian'	153/153	113/113	70/70	42/34	0	0	(3/8 oz. charge.) Used by Prussians from 1809.
French Charleville	151/151	99/99	53/49	55/38	0	0	(3/4 oz. charge.) Used by many other states in Europe.
British 'Brown Bess'	94/94	116/116	75/75	55/53	0	0	(3/4 oz. charge.) Used by many British-allied armies.
Swedish musket	80/80	116/116	58/58	47/39	0	0	(1 oz. charge.)
Russian musket	104/104	74/74	51/51	49/46	0	0	(1 oz. charge.)



The main charge goes off, as the priming sends a shower of incandescent powder grains and flint chips in all directions. This photograph shows an original Charleville firing on a still, humid day: note the smoke cloud from this single round. The pyrotechnics make it easy to understand how Napoleonic soldiers lost eyes or ears to burn accidents when standing in close-packed ranks for volley fire. There are also many contemporary references to serious fires being started among crops or thatched buildings by priming sparks, or by the smouldering paper wadding which covered Napoleonic battlefields during a hot action. (Gerry Embleton firing; musket courtesy Nicholas Michael; photograph, Martin Windrow)

each firing 20 rounds with each weapon.

The best 100-pace scores, of around seven hits out of ten shots, are higher than would be obtained in combat, for the reasons already described. At the other extreme, Henegan, commander of the British field train at Vittoria, estimated from rounds issued and fired (about 3,675,000) and enemy casualties (about 8,000) that only one in 459 shots hit; but this includes shots fired outside effective range. More revealing was Talavera: 20 to 30 British volleys over an average 200 yards in half an hour produced some 1,300 enemy casualties — a hit rate of 3% to 4%.

Dry figures fail, nevertheless, to give an impression of the effect of facing a massed, disciplined volley at almost point-blank range. Many of the leading men in, say, an attacking column would fall at once, dead or visibly mutilated by the big, soft lead balls,

which caused massive wounds. The others would face a wider range of physical and psychological effects. The shock wave from a close-range volley was enough to physically stagger the enemy; we recall the account of the last attack of La Garde at Waterloo, with the heads of columns convulsing like standing corn in a high wind. The author can confirm from painful first hand experience that even a blank round at close range can lift the victim off his feet and blow him onto his back, completely winded.

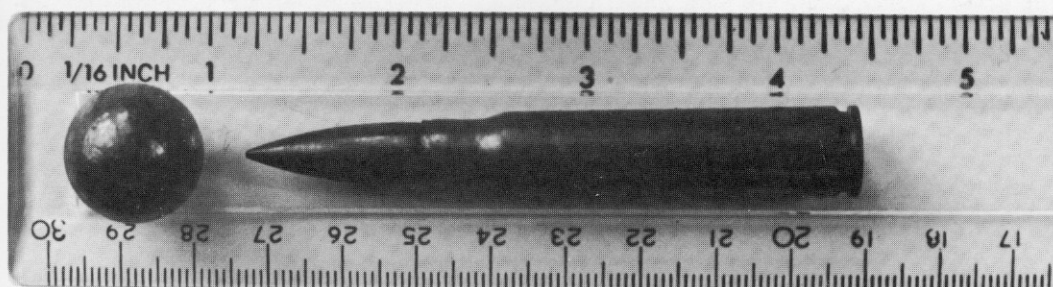
(The *London Chronicle*, 23 June 1795, reported that in Edinburgh one Niven fired as a joke a plug of chewed tobacco rammed into his musket: '... Mrs Baillie of Olive-bank was wounded in the face, which is much lacerated; and Mr Knox ... was shot through the breast, and instantly expired.') The air would be filled with burning powder, which

peppers the exposed face, eyes and hands — the natural reaction is to drop one's weapon and rub the eyes. Dazed and deafened by the noise, blinded by the smoke, winded and choking, the victim of a volley would be overwhelmed in all his senses, completely confused.

Now was the time for the enemy to launch their bayonet charge. The loom of scarlet uniforms, the glittering blades, the screams of the charging enemy would have but one effect — you would run for your life, dropping your musket and pack in your haste to escape. Individually, the musket may have been inaccurate; but a properly timed volley, backed up instantly by a charge, could destroy the cohesion and spirit of an enemy unit as surely as a machine gun. **MI**

Below

A visual reminder of the size of a Napoleonic musket ball compared with a modern 7.92mm rifle round (reproduced here actual size). The wounds inflicted depended on many variables; at close range balls were quite capable of blowing a man's brains out, smashing long limb bones, or spreading on impact with major joints to produce nightmare wounds. Some balls were poorly cast and contained air-bubbles, turning them into 'dum-dum' bullets. Equally, the fact that their force became spent at — by today's standards — relatively short ranges produced a crop of 'lucky escape' anecdotes. Memoirs recall men being knocked over, only to find that the ball had not penetrated the skin or the equipment. Lt. Wyndham Madden of the 43rd Light Infantry was saved in December 1813 by a hard, inch-thick, American-made army biscuit tucked into the breast of his coat. But for every Rifleman Costello, boasting of living nearly 60 years with a ball still inside him, there were dozens of horror stories. Official penetration tests recorded that it took 5 in. of oak to stop a ball at point-blank range; 3 in. at 300 yards. The effect of impact on human flesh and bone; the radical surgical methods of the day, performed without anaesthetic; the filthy conditions of surgery and post-operative treatment — all combined to reduce the casualty's chance of survival to a low percentage.



1st Lancashire Fusiliers

continued from p.29

the British bombardment had lifted from the trenches which they were about to assault, and that the German defenders were emerging from their deep shelters to set up machine guns and to man the firesteps.

On time, at 07.30, the leading sections of the 1st LFs' assault companies climbed the steep, wooded banks of the sunken road and began to take up the formations practised for the advance to the German wire. At the same time, several hundred yards to the rear, A Coy. began to leave the battalion's former front line trench to move up as support for B and D Coys. — the first two lines of which had not moved many yards forward from the sunken road when the full fury of the German small arms fire fell upon them.

Away to the right (south) of the LFs' position, where the cameraman was now stationed, the mine under the Hawthorn Redoubt is captured at the moment of detonation — 07.20 hrs. Two platoons of the 2nd Royal Fusiliers were by now racing for the crater, although there were still ten minutes to go before the 1st LFs moved. (Imp. War Mus.)

The third and fourth lines of the two assault companies were almost annihilated as they left the shelter of the sunken road; only a few wounded succeeded in crawling back to the sanctuary of the cover they had so recently left. A Coy. also suffered heavily as they advanced towards the sunken road: the few men who got beyond it joined the survivors of the assault companies in whatever cover they could find. By the time C Coy. climbed out of the former front line trench the Germans were ready, waiting and practised. The company commander and the company sergeant-major were hit as soon as they stood to signal the advance. Those not hit battled their way up the tunnel to the sunken road against a tide of wounded making their way to the rear. In all this the support companies were encum-

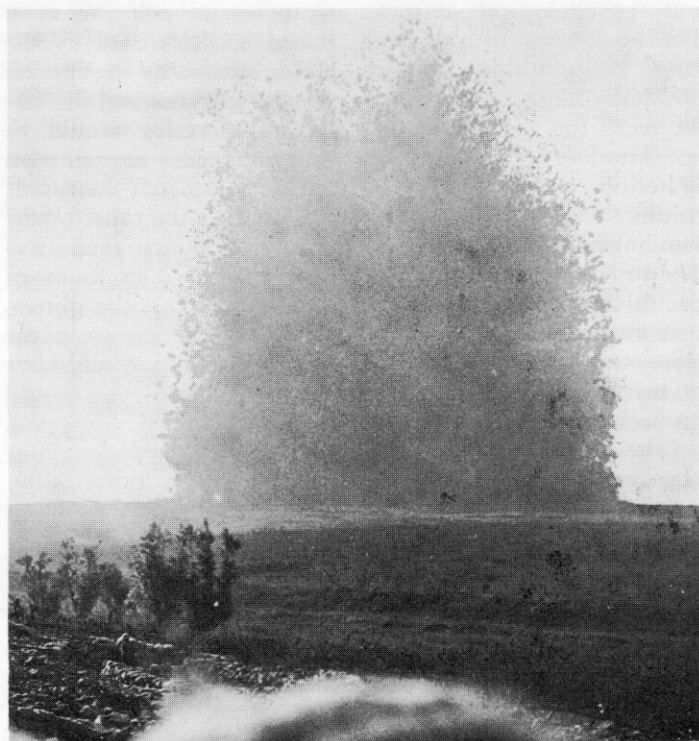
bered by the coils of wire, tools and other stores they were carrying for the consolidation of the German position. By this time the German artillery were responding to the calls of their forward units, and were shelling the 1st LFs with increasing effect.

All of this had happened in a matter of minutes. Attempts were made by isolated groups of the battalion to engage the enemy in a fire-fight, but the enormous advantage enjoyed by the Germans soon told in these unequal contests. In less than half an hour they had stopped the British attack within 50 yards of its jumping-off point, and they now shot with great effect at anything visible. At 08.15 hrs. the commanding officer of the 1st LFs, Lt.Col. M. Magniac, DSO, sent forward a party of 75 men he had gathered

together, with a view to gaining a foothold in the northern part of Beaumont Hamel, where the ground was higher and promised a good field of fire. The party dashed forward with great bravery, but were shot down as they topped the crest a few yards from the sunken road. Two officers and ten men actually reached the German wire, but to no avail.

It was by now evident that the battalion could not carry out its task; and, although the brigade commander issued orders for a further attack at 12.30 hrs., he countermanded them on learning that Lt.Col. Magniac had only one officer and some 120 men still on their feet. Even so, a forlorn attempt was made to carry out this last order, resulting in even more casualties. What was left of the 1st LFs were now ordered to secure the sunken road so that a further assault could be launched from its shelter by another unit. The afternoon was spent in trying to organise the sunken road for defence. German shelling caused more casualties; and snipers killed many of the wounded as they moved, or tried to put on field dressings. At 18.00 hrs. the sunken road was evacuated except for a party of one officer and 25 men detailed to hold it through the night. After dark all available stretcher bearers and others searched for the wounded, who continued to crawl in under cover of darkness, as did the unwounded men who had made it to the German wire only to be pinned down there.

When it was possible to assess the cost, the battalion found that it had suffered seven officers killed and 14



Below

Lashed by small arms fire, men cling to cover, while others try to move forward in short bounds. German fire had by now broken down the orderly ranks in which the battalion was intended to advance. (Imp. War Mus.)

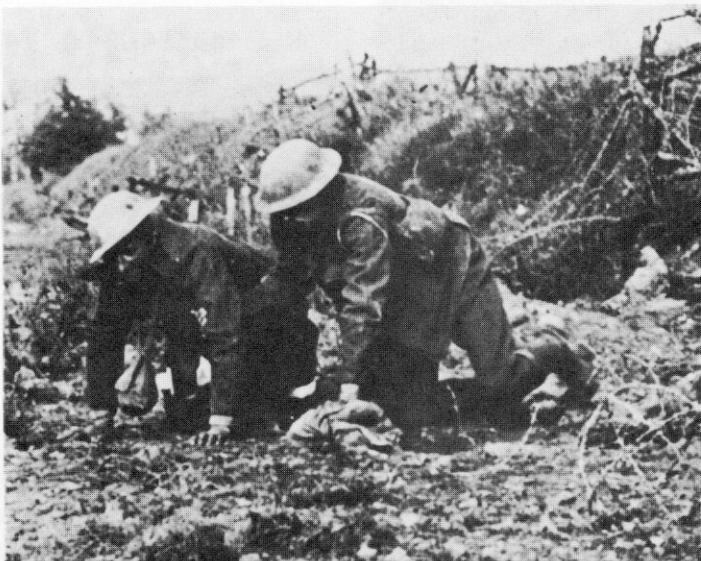


wounded: and 156 other ranks killed, 298 wounded and 11 missing — a total of 486 casualties. The 1st Lancashire Fusiliers remained in the front line until 3 July, holding on to the sunken road which they had occupied without cost in the early hours of 1 July. On 4 July the survivors of the battalion marched back into reserve, 'a very depressed force'.

THE LESSONS

The dismal fate of the 1st Lancashire Fusiliers on the opening day of the Somme offensive was echoed all along the British front. Only in the south, where the British right linked with the French, was there a measure of success. Before the battle every advantage seemed to be on the British side: men of exceptional quality, and in the right numbers to get the job done; massive firepower, backed for the first time with a sufficiency of ammunition; and, above all, a confidence that was never to be found again. And yet the repulse in the opening engagement was bloody, and the campaign as a whole exacted from the enemy a toll no greater than that paid by the Allies.

In looking for the reasons why, many of the answers can be found by studying the 1st Lancashire Fusiliers' battle on 1 July. Firstly, the mistake which extended the lifting of heavy artillery fire, planned for the Hawthorn Redoubt only, to the whole sector, probably destroyed any chance of success for the 29th Division. It would be some time before the British learned to handle their artillery in a truly effective manner. Next, it took hours, not minutes, for the next echelon of command to realise what was going wrong with the assault battalions, and to set up and execute some sort of plan to prevent a total disaster. Even then, the disaster was aggravated by men slavishly following a plan long after it had been proved to have no chance of success. Finally, few units had the freedom to take on the tasks allotted to them in the way in



Left

Mid-morning: two of the wounded make it back to the cover of the sunken road, where the indignity of their situation is captured by a photographer. Both appear to have been hit in the legs; they have discarded weapons and equipment to ease their painful progress to the rear. Walking wounded generally tried to bring their gear back with them if they could, dumping it at the casualty clearing station. This is the northern end of the sunken road, where the bank was not so steep or thickly wooded. (Imp. War Mus.)



Mid-morning: another still from the ciné film record. Walking wounded step aside as a man is carried past to the rear. Note the 'PH' helmet haversack (centre) and stretcher bearer brassard in red on white (right); and the painted yellow helmet hackle showing dark in this photo. In the film the captain in the centre, with the bandaged face and hand, can be seen to be staggering in deep shock. (Imp War. Mus.)

which the 1st LFs did on 1 July. Most were sent to their destruction in 'partridge drive' formations by generals and staffs who had little idea of the reality of the fighting the infantry would have to do, and with a low regard for their ability to react sensibly and think for themselves under fire.

And there was always the enemy: as brave as the British soldier, more innovative, more professionally led, and able to react more quickly than the British at all levels. This combination of qualities, applied to a defensive stance, was altogether deadly — as the British Army was to find out during the remainder of the Great War, and in the war which was to follow.

Beaumont Hamel was finally taken by the British in the closing operation of the Somme campaign. In

November 1916, with the aid of a massive and skilfully executed artillery programme which included the use of gas, the 51st Highland and 63rd Royal Naval Divs. finally secured the objectives which had been assigned to the 1st LFs and their flanking battalions. Today a memorial park preserves some of the old trench systems and shell craters, and it is possible to see the gentle slope up which the 1st LFs skirmished to death, wounds or capture. The sunken road is still there, much the same as it was when ciné cameras recorded it 70 years ago. The lines of the trenches can still be traced by the swathes of chalk visible on the surface after all this time: the chalk which led a long-dead wag to christen the trenches from which the 1st LFs attacked 'The White City'.

DRESS and EQUIPMENT

All ranks of the 1st Lancashire Fusiliers wore the 'Tommy' service dress on 1st July 1916, the officers going so far as to wear other ranks' web equipment as well. All wore the recently introduced steel helmet which, by the summer of the Somme offensive, was available in sufficient numbers to be issued personally and not, as before, as trench stores. Assaulting infantry wore the 1908 pattern webbing in the 'battle order' configuration (without the valise), and the PH gas helmet in its small drill haversack.

Riflemen carried 150 rounds of small arms ammunition in the pouches of the equipment, with an extra 50 rounds in a cotton bandolier. Each man is recorded as carrying two 'bombs', by this



time the No. 5 Mills grenade. All ranks wore identity discs, and carried a 'small book' (ORs) or identity book (officers). In the haversack or strapped to the equipment were a 'holdall' with knife, fork, spoon, comb, razor, shaving brush, etc.; a groundsheet, messtin, and two days' rations of bully beef and biscuit. Two pints of water were carried in the water bottle; and each man carried an entrenching tool — most also carried in addition a pick, shovel, or large wire-cutters. Taking into account the weight of boots and clothing, a man thus equipped would be carrying about 60 lb.

29th Divisional Insignia, 1916

On its arrival in France from the Middle East, the 29th Div. was quick to adopt a scheme of divisional insignia in the style of those then gaining popularity among other British and Commonwealth

formations. All ranks were ordered to wear on both upper sleeves the divisional sign of a shallow red triangle with a 3-in. base; and a patch, in the regimental colours of each battalion, on the back of the jacket just below the collar. In the 1st Lancashire Fusiliers this patch was worn in a particular configuration according to the company of the wearer; in other battalions supplementary insignia such as shoulder strap slides were worn to distinguish companies.

On the general issue of steel helmets, each battalion was ordered to paint on them a distinguishing mark. The 1st LFs chose to paint a shape representing their peacetime full-dress yellow hackle on the left side of their helmets. Other units wore a stencil of their cap badge on the front, or the colours of their topee puggaree flash on the side of the helmet; the units of the 29th Div. were thus easily distinguished. For the battle

Roll call after the battle. A company sergeant major calls the roll of a company that would have started the battle with 180 to 200 men: about 35 men are visible in the photograph, taken in a reserve trench at mid-afternoon on 1 July. The men's faces reflect the events of the morning. The few patches visible are in a different configuration to that of 'C' Coy.; and note the signaller's blue and white brassard. (Imp. War Mus.)

of 1 July all officers and NCOs of the infantry battalions taking part were ordered to wear a distinctive mark for the benefit of observers both behind them and in the air. Some units chose such signs as brassards; the 1st LFs chose to attach a large triangle of tin plate to the backs of their packs. **MI**

Recommended reading:

The Somme, A. H. Farrar-Hockley (Batsford, London, 1964)
The History of the Lancashire Fusiliers 1914-18, Vol. 1, J. C. Latter (Gale and Polden, Aldershot, 1949)

THE 29th DIVISION

A wartime-raised division, formed in January 1915 from regular units brought home from abroad at the outbreak of war, this formation was nicknamed 'the incomparable 29th'.

ORDER OF BATTLE, JULY 1916

Div. HQ (Maj.-Gen. H. de B. De Lisle)
 Div. Troops:
 Pioneer Bn. 2nd Monmouths (P)
 Signals 29th Div. Sigs. Coy., RE (1/London)
 Misc. 18th Mobile Veterinary Sect.
 Inf. Bdes. 86th, 87th, 88th
 Artillery 15th Bde. RHA, 17th Bde. RFA, 132nd Bde. RFA, 147th Bde. RFA; X29, Y29, Z29 Medium Trench Mortar Batteries, V29 Heavy Trench Mortar Bty.; 29th Div. Ammunition Column
 Royal Engineers 1st West Riding, 3rd Kent, 2nd London Field Coys. RE
 Army Service Corps 29th Div. Train (225, 226, 227, 228 Coys. ASC)
 Medical 87th, 88th, 89th Field Ambulances

86th INFANTRY BRIGADE
 Bde. HQ (Brig. Gen. W. de L. Williams)
 2nd Bn., Royal Fusiliers
 1st Bn., Lancashire Fusiliers
 16th Bn., Middlesex Regiment
 1st Bn., Royal Dublin Fusiliers
 86th Bde. MG Coy., Machine Gun Corps
 86th Bde. Light Trench Mortar Bty.

1st Bn., LANCASHIRE FUSILIERS

The regiment, raised in Devonshire in 1688, was numbered the 20th Foot during the 18th century; it fought at Minden in 1759. The 20th or East Devonshire Regiment became the Lancashire Fusiliers in 1881. The 1st Bn. had served in Malta throughout the Boer War, moving subsequently to Gibraltar, Egypt and India before returning to England in January 1915 to join the 29th Division.

In July 1916 the 1st LFs were an up-to-strength battalion; but their fighting strength on 1 July was 23 officers and 700 other ranks only. From their total strength of about 1,000 all ranks were detached the quartermaster's staff of storemen, cooks and tradesmen whose duties kept them in the rear; the transport section who stayed with the horses and vehicles; and a 'left out of battle' element of one officer and several NCOs and men per company, on whom the battalion could be reformed in the event of serious casualties. The battalion's casualties of 21 officers and 465 other ranks thus represented about 67.2% of the total battle strength.

The battalion was organised into a small (by today's standards) HQ and four companies — 'A', 'B', 'C' and 'D' — each of about 175 men. Each company was divided into four platoons, each of them divided into four sections.

Orders of Dress, English Line Infantry, 1890s

D.S.V. and BRYAN FOSTEN

The purpose of this article is not to attempt to focus in minute detail upon all the separate items of dress and equipment worn and used by the British infantryman of the late Victorian period. It is hoped, however, that this summary of the range of uniforms worn by the English Line Infantry will be valuable as a basic guide to the different combinations of dress and equipment worn and carried by all ranks according to the various Orders of Dress prescribed for various occasions and types of duty.

From 1 July 1881 approved major changes in organisation, title and uniform of the regiments of infantry came into effect. Infantry of the Line and Militia were henceforward to be organised in 'territorial' regiments, each of four battalions (in England and Wales), the 1st and 2nd Bns. being the Regular Battalions and the remainder Militia.

The tactical formation was the battalion, centred on a regimental dépôt, and having a headquarters and eight companies. The battalion, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel, had an approximate strength of 30 officers, 91 NCOs and 975 rank and file (although these figures varied from unit to unit and for Home and Overseas Establishments). Field officers and the adjutant normally paraded on horseback; company officers marched with the men.

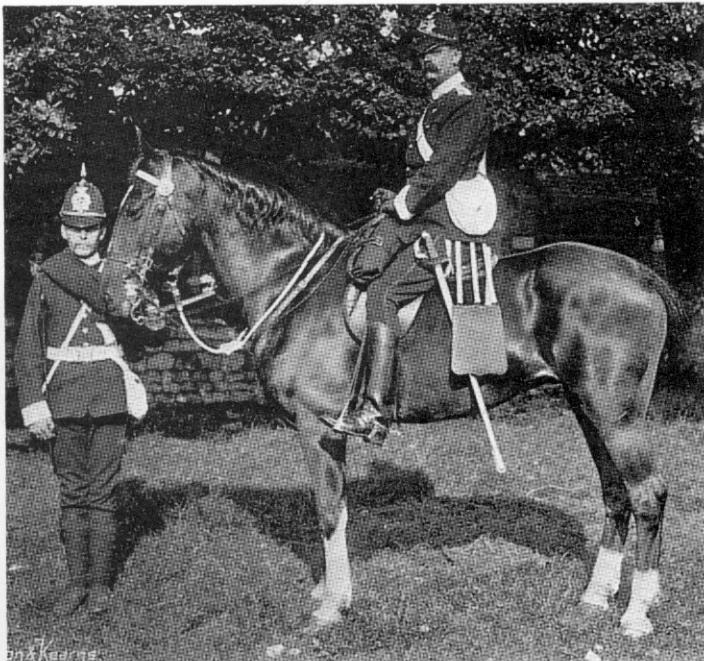
Each battalion had its own mounted infantry section or troop; machine gun and cyclist sections; and a small service train which included the Maxim carriage, a pioneers' cart, a medical stores cart, four ammunition carts, four stores waggons and two pack mules. The train was commanded by a lieutenant, assisted by a sergeant, both mounted.

Captains commanded companies, and lieutenants half-companies. The adjutant, usually a captain, was responsible for day-to-day drills, the orderly room, training schedules, and the organisation of field days and route marches. The sergeant major was a warrant officer, appointed by the War Office and holding the Army 1st Class Certificate of Education and Musketry. Second lieutenants carried out general duties with their companies, assisting the captain and first lieutenants. Companies were designated by letter, starting with 'A' for the right hand company. Each company was in turn divided into right and left half-companies each commanded by a lieutenant. Each half-company was divided into two sections, each under an NCO. Sections were numbered '1' to '4'; a section exceeding ten files was divided into two half-sections.

UNIFORM

Full Dress Headdress

A cloth-covered spiked helmet, dark blue for Line and dark green for Light Infantry. The officers' pattern had a sharply pointed front peak, gilded metal fittings, and a spine from the rear of the spike base to the bottom



edge of the rear peak. NCOs' and Other Ranks' helmets had rounded peaks, simpler brass fittings, and no spine. Helmet plates were eight-pointed stars surmounted by crowns. NCOs and Other Ranks had territorial designations inscribed on a circlet around the central badge. Officers' plates had laurel wreaths; velvet or cloth central badge backings; the badges sometimes in silver; and a universal scroll inscribed with the regimental title. Officers' plates were made in three pieces, Other Ranks' in two pieces.

A white cloth-covered spiked helmet of slightly different and less elegant design was issued to some troops serving in the United Kingdom. A similar white helmet, more closely resembling the design of the blue type, was issued to troops overseas. For undress occasions this helmet was issued with a white dome to replace the spike and a chin strap to replace the chain. Simkin states that soldiers of battalions detailed for service overseas wore the white helmet. Any officer on leave from abroad, or under personal orders to proceed overseas, was allowed to wear the white helmet when attending levées or any other State ceremonial function.

Undress Headdress

By the mid-1890s a blue fold-

Lt. Col. H. R. Roberts, Commanding Officer, 2nd Bn., The Lincolnshire Regt. in Marching Order: note scarlet 'patrol', brown gloves, pantaloons, knee boots, sword belt worn under jacket, and haversack. His orderly wears his overcoat 'en bandarole' over his frock. He wears haversack and waterbottle, and carries a cane; blue puttees are worn over the normal trousers.

ing field cap, in a style favoured by the Austrian army, had been adopted by all ranks, although the field cap and forage cap are still referred to in Regulations. The folding field cap had side flaps, a small turned-up peak, and two front buttons. Officers' caps had gold braid welts; and some regiments had caps in special colours. Officers, warrant officers and staff sergeants continued to wear the 1880 pattern peaked forage cap, but with 'territorial' badges. This cap had a top button, a black oak-leaf pattern braided band (red for Royal Regiments), and a drooping peak with a gold-embroidered edge. In some regiments the officers used a folding, boat-shaped cap without buttons, as worn by the Staff. In some battalions the use of the Glengarry forage cap lingered for Other Ranks.

Tunics

All ranks wore scarlet tunics with facing-colour collars

continued on p.42

(A) Captain, Royal West Surrey Regt., Levée Dress. He wears the dress sash, waist belt and trousers. This Order of Dress would be worn at a Royal Garden Party, State Wedding, Commander-in-Chief's Inspection, ball, levée, or other State function.

(B) Lieutenant, The Buffs (The East Kent Regt.), Review Order. The Buffs reverted to their traditional facing colour in 1890. This Order would be worn for a General Court Martial (but with brown gloves); or for a funeral (with a black crêpe on the upper left arm).

(C) Lieutenant, Royal Warwickshire Regt., Marching Order on changing station — and thus wearing full dress headdress (detail, top centre) instead of the field cap. (D) Lieutenant, Gloucestershire Regt., Drill Order; the dress is almost the same as for Marching Order, but without the leggings. Various other items of equipment could be worn at the dictate of the commanding officer, or in accordance with other special instructions.

(E) Captain, Norfolk Regt., in Mess Dress with peaked forage cap. In some regiments the mess jacket had a rolled collar. The waistcoat was in facing colour, but in red for white-faced regiments. The Norfolks did not recover their yellow facings until 1905.

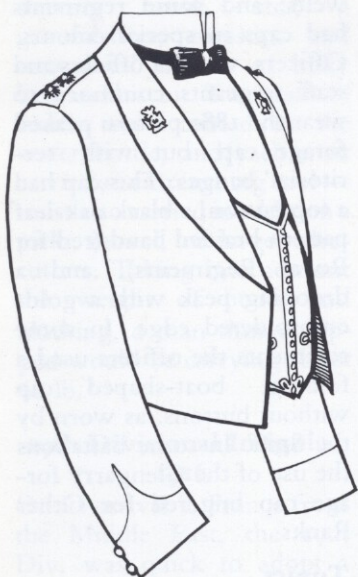
(F) Dress waist belt, sash and sword knot.

(G) Undress waist belt, sash and sword knot.

(H) Lace of 'rose' pattern for officers of English regiments; the right hand section shows the black 'mourning' lines prescribed for some regiments.

(I) Dress lace for the trouser stripes and waist belt.

(J) Top, the Austrian-style folding field cap; below, the Staff-pattern folding cap used by some officers.



The rolled-collar version of the mess jacket, as used by some regiments.



(A) Private, Devonshire Regt., Marching Order. Normally the frock would be worn; however, we illustrate one occasion when the tunic would be worn; an inspection by the Commander-in-Chief. As with officers, all Orders of Dress were merely a basis which could be changed by specific instructions, and it is often hard to tell just which is being worn in some photographic examples. (Top centre) Detail, full dress headdress.

(B) Front and back views of the Slade-Wallace valise.

(C) The valise shown open.

(D) Two views of the early-pattern Slade-Wallace pouches.

(E) The final-pattern Slade-Wallace pouch.

(F) The marching boots and leather leggings of the 1890s.

(G) The two types of waterbottle in use during the 1890s. The Oliver pattern (left) was introduced in 1875; the oval pattern of enamelled metal covered with grey canvas appeared in the late 1890s.

(H) The canvas haversack worn on the left hip, normally rolled up and — presumably — fastened with a second button on the rear face.

(I) The canteen — mess tin — was made of white metal, and was usually carried in a black oilskin cover. It had a shallow lid, and a separate inner dish with a folding handle.

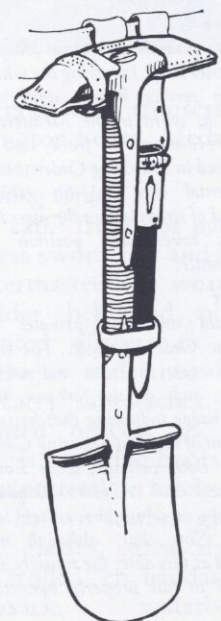
(J) The folding Austrian-style field cap.

(K) The Slade-Wallace waist belt introduced with the new equipment in 1888. Until well into the 1890s many photographs show the 1882 pattern valise equipment worn with Slade-Wallace pouches, and vice versa.

(L) The bayonet frog.

(M) Isometric view of the complete equipment shown from the front.

(N) Isometric view of the complete equipment shown from the rear.



The entrenching tool ('intrenching', in the instructions for fitting). This was worn by 50% of the rank and file 'when ordered to do so'.

and cuffs; English and Welsh regiments had white facings, Royal Regiments blue facings. (Between 1890 and 1900 several regiments were permitted to resume using their traditional facing colours.)

Officers

Prussian collars, hooked close in front, with $\frac{3}{8}$ -in. wide 'Rose' pattern gold lace on outer and medial edges, and similar lace on the edges of the pointed cuffs.¹ Gold braid looping and knots according to rank. Outer edges of the collar, front edges of the tunic, and back seams from waist buttons to bottom edge, piped white. Eight gilded regimental front buttons; one on each shoulder; two at the rear of the waist. Silver embroidered badges of rank stitched to gold twisted shoulder cords. Regimental collar badges.

NCOs and Soldiers

Lower, round-fronted collars and round 'jampot' cuffs. Scarlet shoulder straps. Royal Regiments had white piping round the bottom edge of the collar; white-faced regiments had no collar piping; all regiments had white piping down the front and over the back seams from waist buttons to bottom edge. Seven brass universal pattern front buttons, one on each shoulder and two at the rear of the waist. Shoulder straps bore white woven regimental

titles, surmounted in Light Infantry units by a white buglehorn. Regimental collar badges were worn.

Bandsmen

Similar tunics but with scarlet wings edged and diagonally

barred with plain white braid; similar braid covering sleeve and back seams.

Drummers and Buglers

Similar tunics, decorated with $\frac{3}{4}$ -in. wide white braid with interwoven red crowns;

this was sewn along the outer edges of the collar, all round and in diagonal bars upon the wings, and over the sleeve and back seams. Collars had narrow red and white braid around the lower edge; and wings were trimmed at the outer edge with thick red and white woollen fringes, habitually tucked under to form a 'roll' effect.

(Drums)

According to Potters' contemporary catalogue, the drum hoops of English regiments were usually white, edged red, with a red central worm; Royal Regiments had blue hoops, red edges, and white worms. Potters add: 'Many regiments prefer their own regimental patterns'. Ash shells were painted white or blue respectively, the back sections red; slides were brass, cords of hemp and heads of vellum.

Bugles

Regulation duty bugles were of planished copper with brass mounts, and had green cords — red, blue and yellow for Royal Regiments. 'Dress' cords were the same colours with plaited runners.)

Undress: Officers

In 1891 a scarlet undress patrol jacket was authorised for officers. It had a facing-colour collar, pointed cuffs and shoulder straps, five front buttons, slightly rounded skirts, patched breast pockets with flaps and pleats, and inset pockets with flaps in the skirts. In 1896 officers were permitted plain dark blue 'patrols' of the same pattern. Both were supposedly replacements for the scarlet serge 'India pattern patrol' and the blue braided patrol jacket (which, however, still remained in use for some time).

NCOs and Soldiers

Red serge 'frocks' had been worn since the early 1870s. A five-button version was worn until the late 1880s, but in 1890 was superseded by a seven-button pattern. Both were then worn concurrently until the old pattern wore out. Initially the 1890 pattern

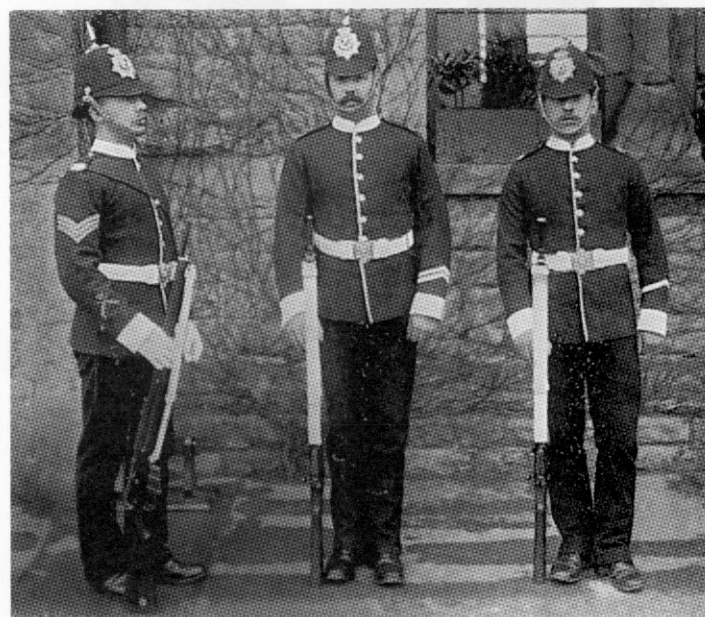


Above

Private of the King's Own (Royal Lancaster Regt.) wearing the white foreign service helmet with the pagri as worn in the Mediterranean. He wears the frock, and is equipped in Marching Order. Note regimental title on the valise; method of strapping on the mess tin in its cover; and position of waterbottle.

Right

Sergeant and two privates in Review Order, c.1898. The sergeant wears the sash and white gloves, and, on the forearm, the prize badge indicating that he is a sergeant of the Best Shooting Company. Both privates wear Long Service and Good Conduct chevrons in white above their left cuffs. Note that, although not creased at this date, the trousers are shaped to fall properly over the boots.



¹Two black lines were worn in the lace by the Norfolk, Somerset, East Yorks, Leicester, East Surrey, L.N. Lancs, Yorks and Lancs Regts. and the Connaught Rangers.

had only the shoulder straps in facing colour, but it was later modified to have facing-colour collars and cuffs. Confusion ensued over the colour of the shoulder straps, examples with either red or facing-colour straps existing. There was also an 'India pattern frock' with five buttons, facing-colour collar, red shoulder straps, and plain sleeves.

All frocks were unlined; had inset pockets below the waist; had rounded skirts; had plain backs; and, in most cases, were unpiped — but sergeants and staff sergeants had distinctive white braid all round the front and bottom edges. In some regiments at least, drummers and buglers had a narrow red and white braid on the collar, shoulder straps and cuffs.

Sashes

Officers wore crimson silk sashes over the left shoulder with the tunic, and the scarlet patrol when overseas. Full sergeants and above wore crimson worsted sashes over the right shoulder (left for Somerset Light Infantry). For levées and State functions officers wore gold dress sashes with two red stripes.

Trousers

Dark blue for all ranks, with scarlet welts up the outward seams. Mounted officers wore pantaloons with blue cloth strapping and knee-high boots. For levées and State functions officers wore blue dress trousers with $1\frac{1}{8}$ -in. gold lace, with $\frac{1}{8}$ -in. crimson silk central stripes, up the outward seams.

Khaki

An all-khaki field service uniform was officially authorised for troops in India in 1885. By 1881 selected troops were issued with experimental drab uniforms in the United Kingdom. In 1896 khaki clothing, made of cotton drill, was issued for field service on all overseas stations.

White Uniforms (for Dress Occasions in Hot Climates)

In 1887 details were issued of a white drill uniform which

resembled the five-button frock, with a low standing collar and plain sleeves and backs, worn with the white helmet with spike, plate and chain in Review Order. Officers' shoulder straps in Royal Regiments were dark blue silk until 1896, but white thereafter.

Equipment

In 1888 the 1882-modified version of the Valise Equipment was replaced by the Slade-Wallace pattern. By 1894 the first type of pouch issued was altered, the new pattern opening outwards to avoid accidental loss of ammunition.

Rifles

Between 1882 and 1895 the principal infantry weapon was the Lee-Metford with a 12-in. sword bayonet. From about 1895 the Lee-Enfield rifle was introduced, with a bayonet of similar length.

Officers' swords

Until 1892 the old 1822 pattern weapon, with a new straight blade, was used. A new pattern appeared at that date; from 1895 this new pattern was itself modified by having the inner edge of the sheet steel guard lapped down.

Drummers, Buglers and Bandsmen

These personnel carried short swords with brass cross hilts, and black scabbards with brass mounts.

* * *

The uniform clothing summarised here served officers, NCOs and men for a wide variety of dress and undress duties, parades, training, drills, garrison and depot duties, boards, guards, field days, marches, walking out, and so forth. Details of the precise ways of wearing the dress and equipment were laid down in Queen's Regulations, reinforced by further instructions in Regimental Standing Orders, with yet further guidance in official publications explaining the various patterns of equipment which came into use between 1871 and 1891.

Queen's Regulations set out only four Orders of Dress



A battalion bootmaker; note that the infantry boot of this period did not have a toecap. The universal pattern 'greyback' shirt was worn well into the 1920s; some had custom-made pockets sewn into the left breast.

Below

Changing sentries. The lance sergeant (left) wears neither sash nor gloves. He wears the seven-button frock, although the sentries wear tunics. He has his pouch in the centre of the back, although the sentries wear theirs to the right of the waist belt locker.



and Equipment for officers and three for soldiers; but they also contain special instructions which supplement this basic information.

Orders of Dress: Queen's Regulations

Officers

Review Order

Full dress headdress, tunic, trousers with red welts, white leather gloves, dress sword knot, undress sword belt, sash. Quartermasters to wear the shoulder belt and pouch. Mounted officers to wear pantaloons and knee boots and to carry the sabretache. When dismounted, field

officers to wear trousers and Wellington boots. Medals to be worn.

Marching Order

Field cap,¹ frock (or patrol), undress sword belt and knot; quartermasters to wear the shoulder belt and pouch. Mounted officers to wear pantaloons and knee boots and carry sabretaches. Dismounted officers to wear trousers, shooting boots, leggings (puttees) on foreign service. Brown leather gloves. Field glasses, greatcoat or cape (rolled 'en bandarole'), haversack, waterbottle, whistles.

¹Full dress headdress on guard (at all times in London, and between 'Reveille' and 'Retreat' when elsewhere) and on changing station.

Drill Order

As Marching Order but without leggings, greatcoat/cape, haversack, field glasses or waterbottle (unless specifically ordered). Brown leather gloves; whistles.

Mess Order

Mess jacket, waistcoat (kamarband in hot climates), undress trousers, Wellington boots. White collars and black neckties worn in regiments where waistcoats were worn open in front. To be worn on all ordinary Mess occasions, but not under canvas or when on manoeuvres.

Swords

Worn on all parades and

duties. Swords were hooked up, edge to rear, during parades and at levées and in drawing rooms by all officers who wore the sword belt over the tunic. At balls, etc., where the sword was taken off, officers continued to wear the belt and slings. The sword belt (of white leather, but gold with a red central stripe for levées and State functions) was worn over the tunic, under all other coats. The 'Sam Browne' belt was worn with khaki clothing and in some cases with the frock; both braces were worn. The sabretache was worn for mounted duties only.

Horse Furniture:

Review Order Saddle, bridle complete, breastplate, wall-lets, cape rolled and strapped in front of wallets.

Marching Order As *Review Order* but field glasses strapped on off-side of saddle and greatcoat rolled behind saddle.

Active Service As *Marching Order* but with mess tin, nosebag, picketing pegs and a heel rope.

Drill Order As *Marching Order* but without the greatcoat.

Dress for General Courts Martial Full dress headdress, tunic, sash, trousers, brown leather gloves.

Dress for Regimental Courts Martial and Garrison Boards Field cap, blue patrol jacket, sash, trousers, brown leather gloves.

Dress for District Courts Martial Full dress headdress but otherwise as *Marching Order*. Mounted officers to wear trousers and Wellington boots unless they ride to court.

Funerals

Review Order.

Levées, Balls and dismounted State functions

Full dress headdress, tunic, dress trousers, dress sash, Wellington boots with brass box-spurs, dress sword belt and knot, sabretache worn by field officers, white leather gloves.

Church Parades

Dismounted Review Order.

Mourning

A piece of 3½-in. wide black crêpe worn around the left sleeve above the elbow (not worn at levées, or in drawing rooms, unless the Court was in official mourning).

In Camp or Quarters

Undress uniform, unless permission was gained from the commanding officer to wear plain clothes for recreational purposes.

Foreign Manoeuvres

Uniform only to be worn if special permission granted by War Office.

Orderly Duties

The sash was worn with whatever Order of Dress was specified.

Officers appointed as personal Aides-de-Camp to the Queen

The prescribed uniform when the Queen was present in State, at levées, when on duty on her person, or at field days when the Queen was present; but at all times wore an aiguillette on the right shoulder.

Special Instructions

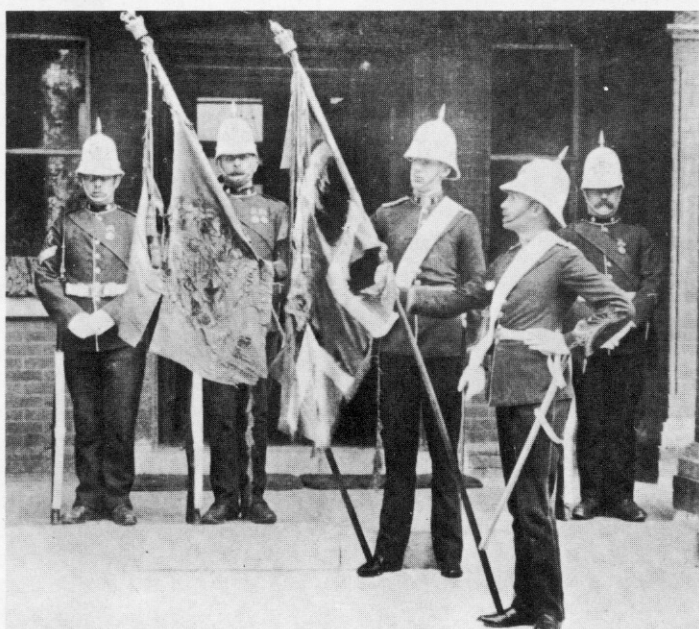
Review Order was worn when the Queen was present, or any other member of the Royal Family; for escort duties, guards of honour, general courts martial; or for any other occasion deemed suitable by the commanding officer. In hot climates white clothing could be worn, or the frock instead of the tunic. *Marching Order* was worn on the line of march, at manoeuvres, field days, exercises, route marches, and when the general officer carried out inspections. On changes of station the full dress headdress was worn. Officers were only to wear the peaked forage cap in undress or when not on duty with the troops.

When greatcoats were carried by dismounted infantry officers they were rolled, and worn 'en bandarole' over the left shoulder secured by a strap. The greatcoat was worn by officers when the men were ordered to wear them.

Steel jack-spurs were worn by all mounted officers with knee boots and by officers permitted to wear puttees and ankle boots when mounted (i.e. mounted infantry officers). Steel box-spurs were worn by all mounted officers with Wellington boots. Spurs were not worn on board ship. In the Mess, brass box-spurs were worn. Majors and brevet majors did not wear spurs on parade unless actually mounted.

Orders of Dress and Equipment: Soldiers

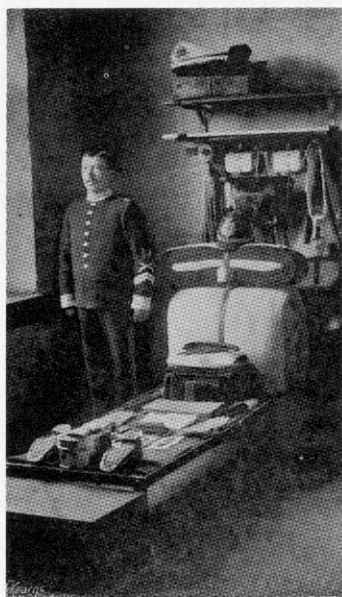
(Note: the full dress helmet was worn evenly on the head and brought down well over the forehead. On all duties the chain or strap was worn on the point of the chin. Off duty, the chain or strap could be hooked up. Overseas the

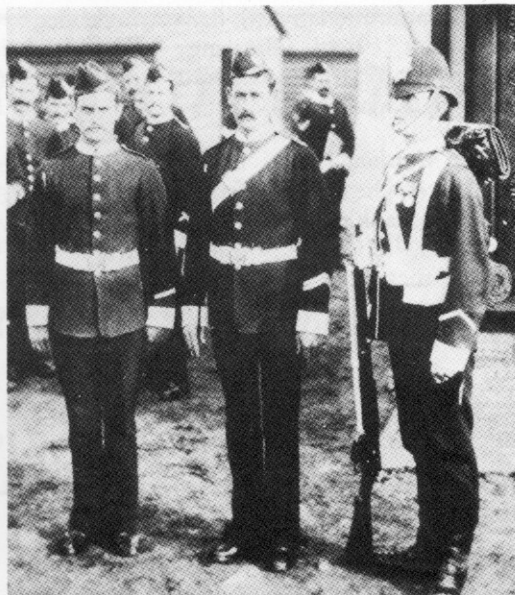
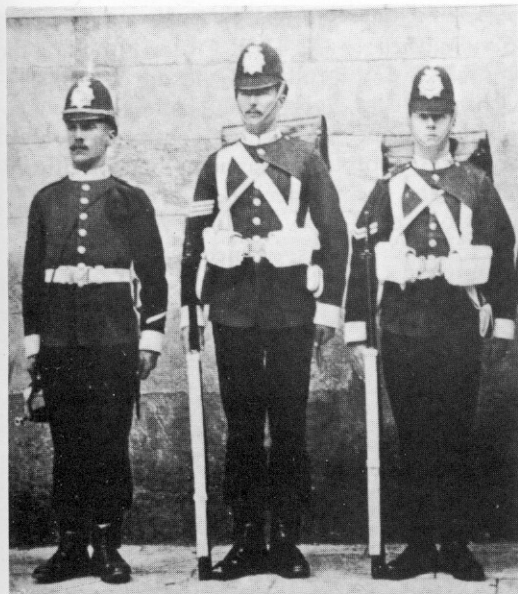


Two second lieutenants with colour sergeants of the 1st Bn., Royal Sussex Regt. in *Review Order*. They wear the white helmet issued to some units on home service. Note the shot-torn state of the lovingly-preserved colours. The 1st Bn. had served in Egypt in 1882; in the Nile campaign of 1884, when part of the unit provided escorts on the river boats during Wilson's expedition to Khartoum; and under Stewart in the Desert Column, fighting at Abu Klea in January 1885 before returning to Britain later that year.

Right

Ready for kit inspection, c.1897. Note the display of braces and pouches; the full dress headdress; the leather straps securing palliase and blankets; the shelf and box for storage; and the fact that not only the mess tin, but even the boot studs are polished bright. He wears the seven-button frock with facing-colour collar and cuffs. Above two LS&GC chevrons are a marksman's badge and the crossed flags of signalling proficiency.





Far left

Bugler, lance-sergeant and corporal of 2nd Bn., Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry in Marching Order. The dark green version of the full dress helmet is worn; note that the bugler alone has the chain hooked up, a habitual style of bandsmen and buglers. They wear the seven-button frock with (apart from the bugler) the protecting shoulder-piece on the left side; and collar and cuffs in facing colour. The trousers and leggings are standard; the equipment is the Slade-Wallace 1888 pattern with last-pattern pouches. It is interesting to compare this photograph with the written instructions for the fitting of this equipment: '... The top of the valise should be in line with the bottom of the collar of the tunic or frock. ...'



Above right

The left-hand private wears walking-out dress with the forage cap (Glengarry) and frock, and carries a cane. The central figure is the orderly of the day, or 'stick man'; he wears the same, with the addition of a band-pattern pouchbelt, and he also carries a cane. On the right is a private dressed in Review Order but equipped as for Light Service Order with the cape and waterproof worn in place of the valise.

Left

Colour Party of the Royal Warwickshire Regt. in Review Order; the sergeant-drummer stands in the background. The officers can just be seen to wear their sashes over the left shoulder, under the white bandolier; the colour sergeant wears his over the right shoulder. The mascot is the antelope representing the 'ancient badge' of the old 6th Regt. of Foot. It was said to have been granted to the regiment as a badge when, as Harrison's Regt., they took part in the capture of a Moorish standard bearing an antelope emblem at the battle of Saragossa in 1710. Note that the two Mascot Orderlies are band boys, recruited and clothed at regimental expense as supernumeraries to the band establishment.

white helmet with spike and chain was the full dress headdress. The khaki cover, or white cover and dome and the chin strap, were used whenever the spike and chain were not.

The rifle, with oil bottle, pullthrough, bayonet, scabbard, waist belt and frog were carried on all parades in all Orders of Dress unless otherwise specifically ordered.)

Review Order

Full dress headdress,¹ tunic, trousers, ankle boots. Pouch carried in centre of back unless the valise, mess tin or ammunition, greatcoat or cape were carried; in which case the pouch was worn on the right side of the front of the waist belt. When leggings

were ordered, haversack and waterbottle were carried. Sergeants and other senior NCOs wore white gloves and sashes. Medals were worn.

Marching Order

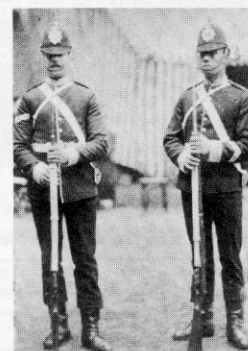
Field cap (or full dress headdress, on change of station). Frock, trousers, ankle boots, jersey and mitts in cold weather, greatcoat, leggings, haversack, mess tin and cover, waterbottle, valise, two pouches. The valise contained a clothes brush, the field cap if full dress headdress was worn, cape, holdall, shirt, pair of socks, grease pot, towel, soap, spare laces, small book. Half the men were to carry the entrenching tool.

Drill Order

Field cap (or other headdress according to climate), frock, trousers, ankle boots, pouch as described for Review Order; when ordered leggings, then haversack and water bottle.

(Note: in Review Order and Drill Order the greatcoat and cape were ordered if the weather was particularly bad. Warrant officers and staff sergeants only carried the greatcoat, cape and mess tin on the line of march if specifically ordered to do so, and then in the officers' style.)

¹Full dress headdress was always worn when guard was mounted in London, and between 'Reveille' and 'Retreat' when elsewhere. It was also worn when men attended District Courts Martial.



Corporal and private in Review Order, with pouch worn in the centre of the belt at the back, waterbottle, and rolled haversack.

Extracts from 'Instructions for fitting Infantry Equipment, Sept. 1890'

Service Marching Order:
Worn on Active Service Abroad
Full dress headdress, frock,
trousers, leggings, ankle
boots, two pouches, haver-
sack, waterbottle, greatcoat,
mess tin, valise, waterproof

sheet, knife and lanyard, flan-
nel belt, field dressing,
description card, spade, and
reserve magazine.

Home Marching Order
Full dress headdress, frock,
trousers, ankle boots. Two
pouches, haversack, water-
bottle, mess tin, valise, spade,
and reserve magazine (if
ordered).

Light Service Order:
*Worn on Active Service when
going into action*
As Service Marching Order
but without the valise. Cape
rolled inside the waterproof
sheet and carried on the
shoulders by means of a coat
strap.
Drill Order
As described in Queen's
Regulations.

Field Day Order
As Drill Order but with the
full dress headdress and leg-
gings. The haversack, water-
bottle and entrenching tool
only carried when specifically
ordered.
Review Order
As Queen's Regulations.
(Note: there is a footnote to
the above descriptions to the
effect that in inclement
weather the greatcoat was
carried on the belt, braces
were worn, and the pouch
was carried on the right side.)

* * *

Church Parades
Review Order with sidearms,
but without the pouch.
Prisoner Escort
Field caps, frocks, trousers,
waist belts, sidearms. Great-
coats where necessary. Valise
only carried when the pris-
oner was not returned the
same night.
Walking Out:
On Sunday Field cap or forage
cap, tunic, waist belt without
sidearm¹, trousers, ankle
boots.
Weekdays Tunic or frock,
waist belt, trousers and ankle
boots. **MI**

Sources:

Queen's Regulations
Instructions for Fitting Infantry Equip-
ment, 1882, 1888, 1890
Records and Badges of the British Army,
Chichester and Burgess-Shott, 1895
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Centuries, P. W. Reynolds (MSS)
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The Transvaal War Album
The Navy and Army Illustrated
British Infantry Uniforms since 1660,
Michael Barthorp
Regimental history uniform appen-
dices, various
National Army Museum Library
photographic collection
Prints by R. Simkin, Harry Payne,
etc.

¹Sidearms, and gloves, worn by sergeants only;
they also wore the sash. Sidearms were not worn
when on furlough.

BADGES OF RANK

Officers:

Rank	Shoulder cords	Collar	Cuffs
Lt.Col.	Crown & star	One row braid, looped into 'eyes', below lace	Two rows lace; one row braid above, one below lace, both looped into 'eyes'
Major	Crown	As Lt.Col.	As Lt.Col. except only upper braid looped into 'eyes'; lower braid plain
Captain	Two stars	No braid below lace	Two rows lace, two rows braid, both braids plain
Lieutenant	One star	As Captain	One row lace; two rows plain braid
2nd Lt.	No badge	As Captain	As Lieutenant

Warrant Officers & Staff Sergeants:

Rank	Badges
Sergeant Major	Gold crown on lower right sleeve
Bandmaster	Gold, silver-stringed lyre on gold laurel sprays with a crown overall, on lower right sleeve
Schoolmaster	No badge; gold twisted shoulder cords
Quartermaster Sergeant	Four gold chevrons beneath eight-pointed star*
Sergeant Drummer/Bugler	Four gold chevrons beneath a drum or bugle badge**

(Note: * All four-chevron badges worn chevrons point-up on lower right sleeve.

** Status of Drum/Bugle/Pipe/Trumpet Major reduced in 1881 from Staff Sergeant Class II to Sergeant.)

Sergeants:

Rank	Badges
Colour Sergeant	Three gold chevrons, beneath crossed Union Flags, beneath crown***
Sergeant Instructor of Musketry	Three gold chevrons, beneath crossed rifles, beneath crown***
Sergeant	Three gold chevrons***. (Sergeants such as the Pioneer, Band, Signalling Instructor, etc. wore trade badges in gold or silver over the chevrons.)

(Note: *** All badges of three or less chevrons worn chevrons point-down on right upper sleeve.)

Corporals and Lance Appointments:

Rank	Badges
Lance Sergeant****	Three white chevrons. (Usually one appointee per two companies.)
Corporal	Two white chevrons.
Lance Corporal	One white chevron. (Usually three appointees per two companies.)

(Note: **** Did not wear the sash.)

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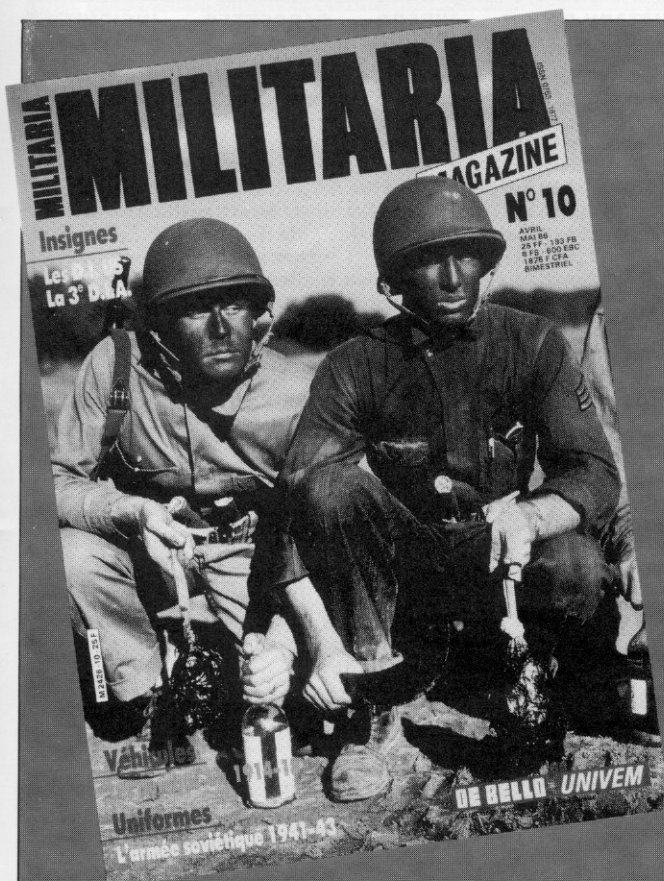
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GALLERY

Crazy Horse

Jason Hook
Painting by Richard Hook

Space allows only the briefest summary of the career of this great leader of the Lakota or Teton Sioux. He was born in 1841 or '42, the son of Crazy Horse, a holy man of the Hunpatila band of Oglala Sioux, and of a Brulé sister of Spotted Tail. His childhood name was 'Curly', after his wavy, strikingly fair hair.

After witnessing the 'Grattan Massacre' in 1854, and its bloody aftermath, he sought and found a 'medicine' vision to guide his life: a warrior riding unhurt through battle, a red-backed hawk flying over him, until he was overwhelmed by his own people. In September 1855 he saw the result of Col. Harvey's attack on Little Thunder's Brulés at Blue Water. Aged about 17, he killed two enemies, and thereafter took his father's honoured name. His growing reputation in war against Crows and Shoshonis, and, after the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864, against the whites, brought him leadership among the hostile Oglalas at an early age.

Actions at which he was present included Julesburg, 7 Jan. 1865; Horse Creek, 14

June; Platte Bridge Station, 25 July; Powder River (Cole's command), Sept. 1865; the Fetterman Massacre (in which he led the decoys), 21 Dec. 1866; and the Wagon Box Fight, 2 Aug. 1867. His standing among the irreconcilable Oglalas rose with Red Cloud's treaty and retirement to an agency. He fought on the Yellowstone, Aug. 1872; against Stanley's command, 1873; in the Black Hills, 1874; and was recognised as a chief in Sitting Bull's camp in March 1876. He fought Crook on the Rosebud, 17 June; and eight days later, at the Little Bighorn, after initially fighting against Maj. Reno's attack, he mustered and led 1,000 braves in the annihilation of Custer.

After further stubborn resistance, Crazy Horse was finally persuaded by Crook, Miles, Spotted Tail and Red Cloud to submit. He led 900 followers in to the Red Cloud

Agency on 6 May 1877. Bad faith and intrigue — both white and Indian — led to the scuffle on 5 Sept. 1877 in which Crazy Horse was arrested by fellow Oglalas; grabbed by his companion, Little Big Man; and fatally bayoneted by a guard. His last words were: 'Let me go, my friends; you have got me hurt enough'.

Richard Hook's reconstruction of Crazy Horse's war costume, c.1872-76, is based on a number of sources: Amos Bad Heart Bull's pictographs (Blish — see source list); the Hinman interviews with Crazy Horse's contemporaries; and Ambrose's interpretation of the Ricker Tablets. Unless otherwise stated, all points are supported by Mari Sandoz's definitive study.

The depiction of Crazy Horse's features is based on tallying first-hand descriptions by Bourke; Grouard; and Short Bull and Little Killer (Hinman). He was about 5 ft. 8 in. tall, slim built and light complexioned, with a sharp nose, keen black eyes, and long, wavy, sandy-brown hair. The powder mark just visible under the left nostril was caused in about 1870, when No Water shot him point-blank in the face with a pistol after Crazy

Horse absconded with No Water's wife, Black Buffalo Woman.

Much of his costume was connected with his personal 'medicine', originating in his boyhood vision, as recorded in the Ricker interviews with the trader and interpreter William Garnett (Sandoz, Ambrose).

Tied into his hair is the complete skin of a red-shouldered hawk, guardian spirit of his vision. Apart from a beaded scalplock his hair is worn loose; according to White Bull (Vestal) he undid his otter-fur braids before battle. He Dog (Hinman) describes the central tail feather of a golden eagle as part of a medicine made for Crazy Horse by the Oglala holy man Chips. A small brown stone tied into his hair behind the left ear is described by Sandoz and Ambrose; Hyde refers to it as being blue.

Around his neck is a wing bone whistle, from the same eagle which provided the tail feather; apart from invoking the 'war eagle's' power, it was used for signalling. Also around his neck are an Iroquois shell necklace (Short Bull/Hinman) and a typical medicine pouch.

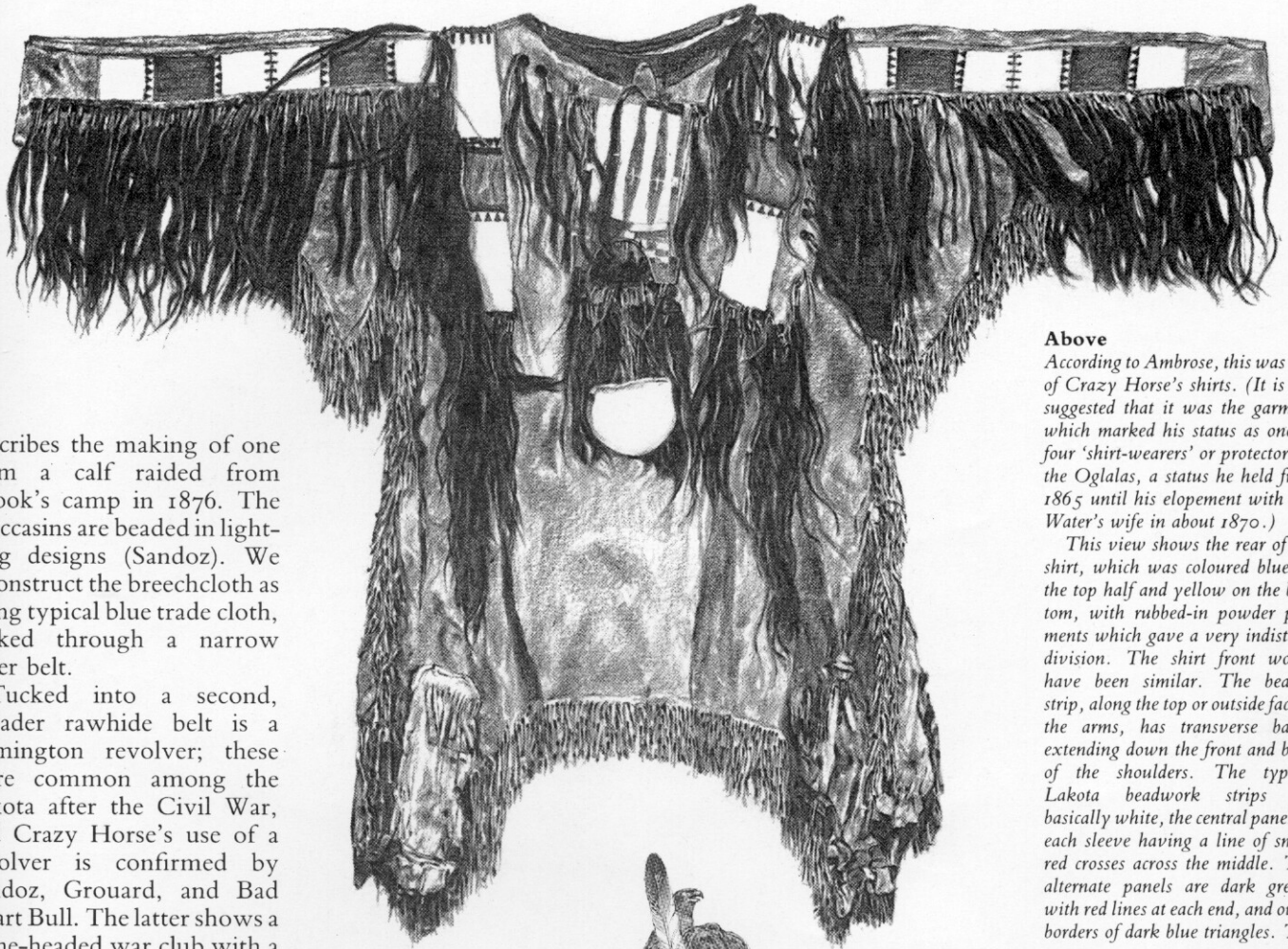
He Dog and Red Feather (Hinman), who fought alongside him, describe the white stone slung under the left arm; the latter said that he was wounded twice before acquiring it, never afterwards. It came from the stone-dreamer 'medicine' of Chips, as did the protective pebble tied into the horse's tail.

The striking paint designs, which are symbolised in the Bad Heart Bull pictographs (Blish), represent his thunder medicine; according to Sandoz, his preference for fighting in only breechcloth and moccasins derived from membership of the Thunder Cult. White 'hailspots' dotted his body, and a lightning streak of white (Sandoz) or red-earth (Ambrose) marked his face.

The Bad Heart Bull pictographs (pl. 295) confirm that he wore a war-cape; Sandoz

Purportedly, Crazy Horse's shield cover, apparently captured shortly before his surrender by one 'Gen. Lawton', who 'might have been attached to Miles's command.' These designs in red, yellow and blue include the Thunderbird, a powerful medicine linked with the golden eagle and thunder; and lightning flashes — both aspects of Crazy Horse's medicine. The two dragonflies also symbolise powerful protection in the Lakota tradition. Although there are no direct references to Crazy Horse's shield, these links with his medicine suggest that it might indeed have been his. (Smithsonian Institution Photo No. 85-15200)





Above

According to Ambrose, this was one of Crazy Horse's shirts. (It is not suggested that it was the garment which marked his status as one of four 'shirt-wearers' or protectors of the Oglalas, a status he held from 1865 until his elopement with No Water's wife in about 1870.)

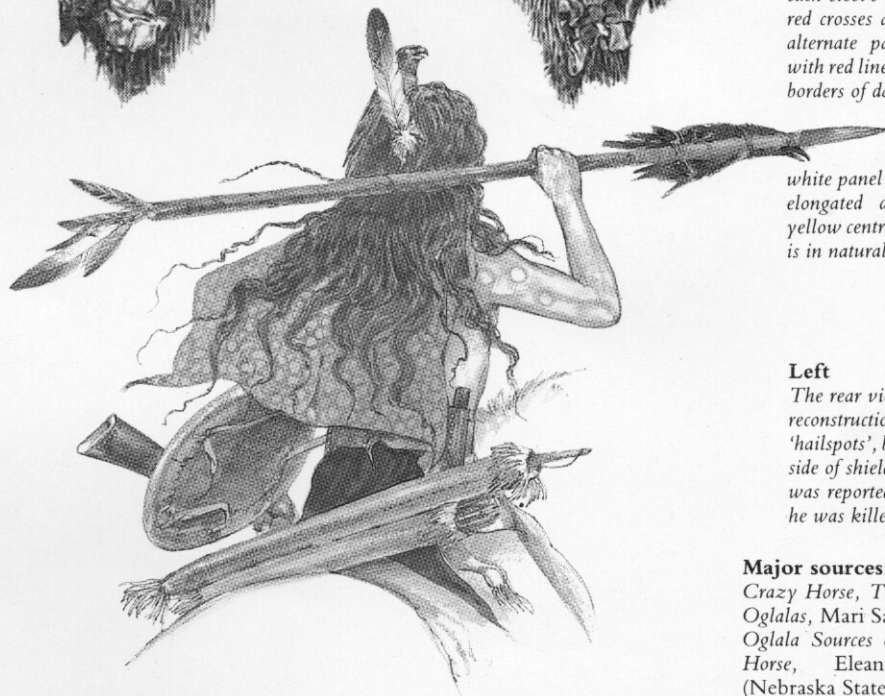
This view shows the rear of the shirt, which was coloured blue on the top half and yellow on the bottom, with rubbed-in powder pigments which gave a very indistinct division. The shirt front would have been similar. The beaded strip, along the top or outside face of the arms, has transverse bands extending down the front and back of the shoulders. The typical Lakota beadwork strips are basically white, the central panel on each sleeve having a line of small red crosses across the middle. The alternate panels are dark green, with red lines at each end, and outer borders of dark blue triangles. The

describes the making of one from a calf raided from Crook's camp in 1876. The moccasins are beaded in lightning designs (Sandoz). We reconstruct the breechcloth as being typical blue trade cloth, tucked through a narrow inner belt.

Tucked into a second, broader rawhide belt is a Remington revolver; these were common among the Lakota after the Civil War, and Crazy Horse's use of a revolver is confirmed by Sandoz, Grouard, and Bad Heart Bull. The latter shows a stone-headed war club with a long thong, tucked into the left side of the belt (pl. 146), and Bourke refers to its use at the Little Bighorn. We show a typical brass-tacked knife sheath slung on the belt (see also rear view illustration).

Bad Heart Bull shows him using a rifle at Little Bighorn, and he gave up three Winchesters upon his surrender (Bourke): we show the popular 1866 carbine with typical brass tack decoration. He Dog said that Crazy Horse was distinctive in that he always leapt off his horse before firing (Hinman). The carrying strap for his bowcase and quiver rests across his thighs, its position taken from Charlie Russell. His shield hangs loosely from a long carrying strap.

In his right hand we show the lance of the Kangi Yuha or 'Crow Owner's' warrior society. Its red- or blue-painted shaft would be wrapped in otter-fur and adorned with eagle and owl feathers and a complete crow skin. He Dog, Red Feather (Hinman) and Blish's notes all record Crazy Horse and He Dog



white panel below the neck has red elongated diamond shapes with yellow central crosses. The fringing is in natural hair. (Adam Hook)

Left

The rear view of the main painted reconstruction: note cape with white 'hailspots', bowcase, quiver, underside of shield, and second knife (he was reportedly carrying two when he was killed).

having been honoured by carrying these lances in the battle 'When They Chased The Crows Back to Camp' in 1870; White Bull refers to Crazy Horse carrying a lance in 1872; and there is no reason to suppose that he did not carry one subsequently.

The horse is a yellow pinto, like the one he rode at the Little Bighorn; it is smeared with gopher dust, another part of Crazy Horse's medicine preparations (Sandoz).

The red saddle blanket was also used for signalling; and was worn belted high around the body in cold weather, e.g. at the Fetterman Massacre. The standard plaited war 'bridle' is a single long rein tied around the horse's lower jaw, its length allowing control when dismounted. Ambrose describes the horse's tail as worn loose, like Crazy Horse's own hair, although Indians commonly tied them up.

MI

Major sources:

Crazy Horse, *The Strange Man of the Oglalas*, Mari Sandoz (Bison)
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Crazy Horse and Custer, Stephen E. Ambrose (Purnell)
A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux, Helen Blish (University of Nebraska Press)
Spotted Tail's Folk, George E. Hyde (University of Oklahoma Press)
Sitting Bull, Champion of the Sioux, Stanley Vestal, (University of Oklahoma Press)
On the Border with Crook, John G. Bourke (Time Life)
The Life and Adventures of Frank Grouard, Joe De Barthe (Time Life)
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Crazy Horse
c.1872-76

